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# The Guardian

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INTERNATIONAL  
NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR  
46,455

## How MI6 bankrolled Robert Maxwell

Serialisation of the major new book by Russell Davies

Media  
**Famished road to freedom in Nigeria**  
G2 pages 7/9

## Labour fury at Harman 'hypocrisy'

### School choice row leaves Blunkett to pick up pieces

Rebecca Smithers and Donald MacLeod

**L**ABOUR was thrown into turmoil last night by shadow health secretary Harriet Harman's decision to send her son to a selective grant-maintained grammar school. Her move prompted the chairman of the parliamentary party's education committee to resign.



Harriet Harman: 'major error of judgment'



chairman, Doug Hoyle, which he will send by fax today, he writes: "As a senior member of the party has felt it necessary to condemn her actions, it is left to lowly me to express my disgust and outrage at what she has done."

Despite the party's attempts to maintain unity over the issue, several shadow cabinet members broke ranks to tell the Guardian that they were furious with Ms Harman because her decision to send her 11-year son, Joe, to St Olave's School in Orpington, Kent, flies in the face of Labour education policy.

David Blunkett, Labour's education spokesman, emphasised that the decision was a personal one and that the party's opposition to selection was unchanged. But he is known to be furious that the row has effectively sabotaged his intended attack on the Nursery Education and Grant Maintained Schools bill, which receives its second reading in the Commons today.

## MI6 funded Maxwell in early business career

Dean Atkinson

**R**OBERT MAXWELL'S early business career was bankrolled by MI6 to the tune of more than half a million pounds at today's value. The secret service used him to penetrate the Soviet scientific establishment in the early days of the cold war and he was probably kept on by British intelligence right up until his death in November 1991.

These disclosures of the secret service's role in launching Maxwell's career in the ruins of Europe in autumn 1947 are published in the second extract from Russell Davies's new book Foreign Body.

It had been after his debriefing of Nazi prisoners on behalf of the Allied Control Commission that he "emerged with a very strong sense of Germany's strength in scientific research and development", writes Mr Davies. He set out to help rebuild German scientific publishing and "thus laid the foundations for his future business empire".

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Naomi Campbell models a cocktail dress in John Galiano's Givenchy collection last night. PHOTOGRAPH: GARETH WATKINS

## Galliano checks his quirks and unleashes an exciting collection in a British first at Givenchy

Sally Brampton

**J**OHN GALLIANO last night became the first British designer to present a collection at Givenchy, in his new role as creative head at the Paris couture.

Journalists, photographers and television crews from all over the world, celebrities including Tina Turner, Joan Collins and Paloma Picasso, and a flock of models filled a sports stadium on the outskirts of Paris, all determined not to miss out on this slice of fashion history.

Galliano, aged 34, the son of a south London plumber, is said by detractors to be a wild card in the couture pack - a designer of great mercurial brilliance but untrammelled extravagance. Last night he controlled his eccentricities and presented a collection that was both exciting and contemporary while honouring the spirit of the House of Givenchy - best typified by its most famous customer, Audrey Hepburn.

## Arafat triumphs - but the voters signal a warning

Derek Brown in Ramallah

**Y**ASSER ARAFAT yesterday became the first-ever elected leader of the Palestinians, scoring crushing personal and political victories in the weekend's historic general election.

But although they confirmed him as their president, the voters have also sent a clear signal to Mr Arafat that they want more than one-man rule.

Across the West Bank, in the Gaza Strip and in East Jerusalem, the voters spurned many of Mr Arafat's nominees of the Fatah faction, standing for the new 88-member Palestinian Council.

Logic that led to decision, page 5; Roy Matherley and Leader comment, page 5; Gerald Steinberg, page 9

Although many of its candidates were rejected by voters, the Fatah faction is expected to have a solid majority in the new council. But the estimated three quarters of the million Palestinians taking part in their first general election - some 75 per cent of the total registered - showed a great deal of sophistication in choosing from the crowded ballot papers.

With 672 candidates standing in 16 multi-member constituencies, there was, according to officials and observers, a good deal of voting across party lines. Many voters, armed with up to 12 votes, made only one choice to protect their most-favoured candidate.

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Sketch

Brought to earth by whirling blades



Keith Harper

IT HAS not been the most propitious start. Richard Branson's attempt to circle the world in a balloon has been confined to a 400ft reconnaissance flight over Marrakech, testing nothing but his penchant for publicity.

His small fleet of Virgin balloons carried us over the minarets of this ancient Moroccan city while technicians worked overtime at the nearby military base to prepare the immense Virgin Global Challenger, taller than Nelson's Column, for a journey which will eclipse the excitement and danger of a Jules Verne story.

A group of camels watched aloofly as we climbed into our baskets with the Peter Pan explorer. The competition from the snappers to share the journey with the Branson legend was considerable. They wanted to capture every moment of the 30-minute flight, the equivalent of once round the pier and back by breakfast.

Branson, who has already defied death and frostbite over the Pacific and the Atlantic in his search for kicks, was suitably relaxed, even when the basket attached to his balloon looked as if it would be toppled by cameras and squirming bodies.

One by one, the balloons were released into a sky as clear as spring water. No breeze was blowing from the Atlas mountains. It seemed a perfect day to attempt the real thing, but the team's meteorologist was pessimistic. He warned of a deepening depression over north Africa. "Three days like this before Richard can get away in safety," he shouted from his basket.

The crowd in the market waved at the airborne cavalcade, and a man digging his garden offered us some green vegetables. Children appeared from the back streets and alleys as if we were an

aeronautical Pied Piper, following us into the countryside.

The balloons dipped and rose on invisible ropes. Then, from across the rooftops, we heard a jarring note. A grey military helicopter, its blades whirring like some angry bird of prey, appeared from behind the city walls.

An official escort from the King of Morocco sent our navigators into a nervous twitch. The helicopter was irresistibly drawn to our fragile convoy, but too near. It swirled up the wind and the balloons began to bob alarmingly.

Fifty yards away in the leading balloon Branson was unperturbed, but our navigator, John, waved his arms angrily at the intruder: "Keep clear of us," he shouted, "or you'll bring us down, you idiots."

We were coming down anyway, over small, stunted palms into a petrified forest. John was still waving at the helicopter as he grappled with the controls. We seemed to pass within inches of a power cable and a solitary street lamp. "Just bend your knees ever so slightly as we touch down... see, there's nothing to it," John said encouragingly.

The baskets stood erect and stationary, but the helicopter was not done with. It landed 50 yards away in a scrubby open space, and the air churned again. Oblivious to our discomfort, Branson disported himself in the folds of his balloon, energetically posing for further pictures.

No one heard John's appeal for help on his mobile. "Get ready, we're about to keel over," he shouted above the still-rotating blades. We were thrown out on to the sand, and brushed ourselves down.

As the Branson entourage climbed into a Range Rover to drive into town, the helicopter's blades were silenced. Its pilot came across and in broken French ruefully asked for assistance. The beast's electric had failed and he wondered if we had any jump leads in our car. We hadn't.

By this time, the children from Marrakech caught up. They examined the balloon and we played noughts and crosses in the sand with them and juggled stones. They wanted only the Virgin caps lying in the car.

Review

The passion of Charles Ives

Andrew Clements

Charles Ives: The Unanswered Question Barbican Centre/Facile 3

EVEN by the lavish standards of the BBC's winter weekends at the Barbican, the celebration of Charles Ives was an ambitious, highly complex affair. There may not have been operas to perform in concert, or works with elaborate electronics to project around the hall, but Ives's music makes its own special demands on performers.

They are not just purely technical ones — though a work like the *Concorde Sonata*, played on Saturday afternoon by Philip Mead, is as demanding as anything in the piano repertoire. The *Unanswered Question*, which includes zithers, jew's harps and an obsolete electronic instrument called the *theremin* takes a bit of organising, and then there are all the spatial effects, the offstage bands and choruses, that are just as essential a part of his imaginative world.

All of this, though, was triumphantly stage-managed, and Charles Ives: The Unanswered Question ended last night with the *Fourth Symphony*, the most demanding and ambitious of all his works, the one in which all his aspirations and his experimentalism are most majestically reconciled. It had begun on Friday evening with the piece that gave the name to the whole event, *The Unanswered Question*, but between those relatively familiar fixed points the concerts — eight of them, as well as lectures, films and foyer events — ranged into much more obscure areas. There were works from Ives's student years at Harvard, pieces that have been reconstructed from fragmentary sketches, and, most fascinating of all, some of the small-scale experiments that reveal the sheer exuberance and fertility of Ives's mind, his com-

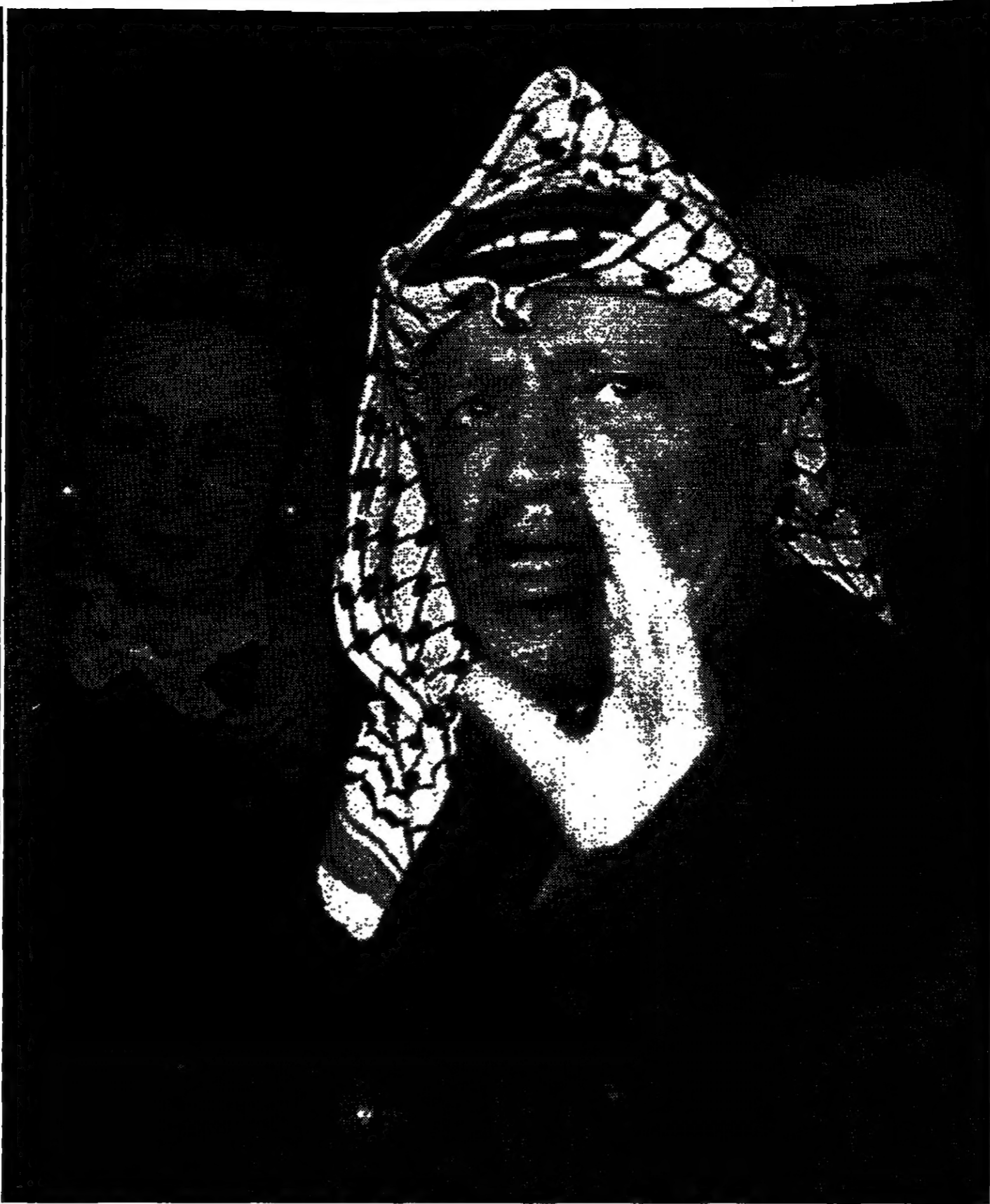
pulsion to carve out a musical language that is utterly original and utterly American.

For Ives, on this side of the Atlantic the question that remains unanswered, though, is the true extent of Ives's greatness. In the US, his importance is unchallenged, but in Europe he remains a shadow, insufficiently performed figure, probably because the common coinage of his music is so exclusively homegrown. The emotional resonance of a revivalist hymn or a marching band just doesn't carry the weight for Europeans as it still does in the American folk memory, yet that was the raw material for Ives's most extraordinary achievements — the uproarious gallimaufry of sounds in *Putnam's Camp*, the second of his *Three Places in New England*, quite brilliantly realised by Oliver Knussen with the London Sinfonietta on Saturday, or the ghostly assemblage of civil war tunes in *Decoration Day*, the second movement of the *Holidays Symphony*, which Andrew Davis conducted with the BBC Symphony in the opening orchestral concert.

Where the European modernists in the first decades of the 20th century forged their transcendence just as sincerely as Beethoven's late quartets or a Bach *Passion*.

In tomorrow's Guardian Serialisation: Part three

Did Maxwell broker peace between Israel and the Soviets?



Yasser Arafat talks to reporters yesterday watched by his wife Suha

PHOTOGRAPH: RASHI MOGHARAB

Big poll win for Arafat

continued from page 1 and Jordan — and three international organisations. There were also teams of Israeli and Palestinian observers, and several from small, independent groups.

They have heavily criticised the election process, in particular the changes and delays decreed by Mr Arafat. But yesterday they united in the grudging but unanimous belief that the Palestinians had been allowed to make their own choice.

Carl Lidbom, head of the European Union observers, said the outcome "can reasonably be regarded as an accurate expression of the will of the voters on polling day".

The former US president, Jimmy Carter, who made an energetic tour of polling stations on Saturday, intervening directly to chide Israeli security forces at one stage, also said the will of the voters had been expressed.

He ruminated on the extraordinary Israeli police presence in Jerusalem during polling, which he described as "intimidation, whether deliberate or not".

On Saturday morning, in a courteous but determined bit of browbeating, Mr Carter ticked off a senior police officer for ordering his men to make video recordings of voters.

Palestinian security forces were also much in evidence during the election, some of them inside polling stations where they had no right to be. The European observers reported that this had happened in at least 10 per cent of locations.

Fatah activists entered the polling stations, especially in Gaza, to "persuade" voters to support their candidates. There were also reports of mysterious delays in the transport of ballot boxes from polling stations to counting centres, though election officials insisted that there was no evidence of tampering.

The most tragic incident was in Sallam village, near the West Bank town of Nablus, where a Palestinian election observer objected to the presence of a policeman. The policeman was ordered to leave, upon which he drew his gun and shot the observer dead.

Couple survive 20 hours in shark-infested sea

John Aglionby in Jakarta

A BRITISH couple yesterday described their 20-hour ordeal in shark-infested seas surrounded by the bodies of passengers who had drowned when a ferry sank off Indonesia.

Stephen Nicholson, aged 34, of Chislehurst, proposed to his girlfriend, Caroline Harrison, also 34, from Shooters

Hill, south London, as they clung together in the water.

"I don't think we would have survived if we had not had each other. Caroline kept me going and I kept her going," he said. "I told her we should get married if we got to land. She said: 'Yes'."

Mr Nicholson described how he was forced to fight off a drowning man who threatened to drag the couple down after crashing waves sank the

Gurita nearly four miles from its destination on Weh, north west of Sumatra. "It was blind panic, I just had to get him off me. Otherwise we both would have gone down."

Passengers fought in the water over life jackets. "Women and babies were being punched in the scramble to get a life vest. Caroline and I had one between us, each of us with one arm in an armpole.

"Once or twice we got within a few hundred yards of the shore only to be driven back by currents." The couple were eventually saved by the crew of an oil tanker.

A British Embassy spokesman in Jakarta said Mr Nicholson and Ms Harrison were believed to be the only Britons on the boat, which sank on Friday night. They have been travelling around the world for the past two years.

Four other foreigners are among the 150 people missing. Forty-seven people were rescued and 54 bodies recovered, some up to 35 miles from the disaster site. The dead included an Irish woman and a German woman.

Mr Nicholson blamed overcrowding for the sinking. The boat appeared to be overloaded and was delayed for two hours while bags of cement were loaded. After

nearly two hours at sea, the boat started to sway from side to side. The captain told the passengers to run from port to starboard and back again to counteract the list.

The couple believe physical fitness built up during two weeks' trekking in the Himalayas helped them survive. The Gurita was carrying 210 passengers, 16 crew, 80 tons of cement, and 14 tons of food.

Duchess aims to cash in on title

Ian Katz in New York and Alex Bellos in London

THE Duchess of York's face-saving US deal to clear her overdraft may involve her in controversial commercial promotion work that exploits her position as a royal, it emerged yesterday.

Buckingham Palace yesterday said the Queen "welcomed" the package which it is hoped will pay off the Duchess's estimated £3 million debt. But it refused to comment on reports in yesterday's newspapers that the rescue plan commits her to sponsorship, personal endorsement of children's toys and public appearances that may be seen as a vulgar abuse of her royal connections.

It is thought the agreement involves substantial cash up front for the Duchess, probably to satisfy her bankers, Courts & Co, in return for her future earnings — or at least a large slice of proceeds — from publishing and spin-off merchandising ventures.

Previous attempts by the Duchess to clinch lucrative deals, including television presenting and a role in producing a Hollywood film on Queen Victoria, have come to nothing.

It is thought the Duchess has also agreed to join the board of the Millennium Society, an American charity which raises cash for international scholarships and which is headed by the wife of her former friend, Texan millionaire Steve Wyatt.

Trained as a tax accountant, Mr Chambers shot to



Lady in the red... Raymond Chambers (right) has ridden to the Duchess of York's rescue

Duchess at a White House dinner last year. Former US treasury secretary William Simon and Washington lawyer and entrepreneur Frank Pearl have also been linked.

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prominence in the 1980s when he pulled off a string of highly profitable leveraged buyouts with his then partner, Mr Simon, accumulating a personal fortune put at over \$400 million.

In one deal involving the takeover and resale of a greetings card company, Mr Chambers and Mr Simon famously earned more than \$100 million for an original investment of \$1 million.

Mr Pearl is a powerful but low-profile Clinton administration supporter who runs his own investment company.

A sailing enthusiast who worked for Mr Chambers and Mr Simon as a lawyer, he joined their corporate raiding company, Wesray, but later retired, complaining that he did not like the financial atmosphere which had developed in New York.

Mr Simon, a once legendary bond trader who served under Richard Nixon, is well-known as an outspoken supporter of conservative causes. He became one of America's



richest men while in the corporate raiding business with Mr Chambers but subsequently lost much of his fortune in a series of ill-fated investments in savings and loans (building societies).

Mr Chambers abandoned the business world in 1986 to devote himself to philanthropy. He has spent more than \$50 million of his own money and offered guarantees to the tune of a further \$36 million in his crusade to revitalise Newark, one of America's most blighted cities.

Through his Amelior Foundation, he has sponsored scholarships for underprivileged children, funded the establishment of an arts centre and renovated the city's Boys and Girls Clubs.

The royal party is due back in Britain tomorrow or Wednesday after a visit to New York for a charity board meeting and possibly a shopping trip with the children.

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سنة ١٤١٥ هـ

Big poll win for Arafat



The Birmingham refuge where the mother lived, and the man being held over the killings under arrest after leaving hospital on Saturday PHOTOGRAPHS MIKE SHARPE (top) and STUART HARRISON



# Blair allies oust Labour media chief

Seumas Milne and Rebecca Smithers

**J**OY Johnson, Labour's campaigns and media director, has been forced to give up her job at the heart of Labour's election machine after clashes with allies of Tony Blair, including his political strategist and confidant Peter Mandelson and his press officer, Alastair Campbell.

Labour is expected to announce Ms Johnson's resignation this week and present it as an amicable parting, but the move follows intense pressure from sections of the Labour leadership on the former BBC political news editor to quit, as reported in the Guardian last November.

The high-profile departure seems bound to inflame continuing tensions about the centralisation of authority, as power has shifted from the party headquarters at Walworth Road, south London — where Ms Johnson is based — to the leader's office and the new party media centre at Millbank Tower.

The ousting of Ms Johnson follows the resignation last year of the Tories' head of communications, Hugh Colver, who left over what he felt was an increasingly personalised campaigning style at Conservative Central Office.

Ms Johnson's political differences with key figures in the Labour "moderniser" camp came to a head last autumn, but she has also been regarded as close to the shadow chancellor, Gordon Brown, and has been given strong support by members of Labour's national executive committee.

An NEC member said last night: "Joy is a woman of great talent who thinks about strategic campaigning and is highly respected at the BBC, but she didn't fit in with the in crowd and the spin doctors. She proved too independent-minded for them and she's reached a point where enough is enough."

Tensions with Mr Mandelson — who held the job under Neil Kinnock — emerged soon after her appointment as Labour's communications director in February last year. Last autumn, Mr Mandelson was appointed a frontbench civil service spokesman, but he has also been given the key role in running Labour's general election campaign.



Joy Johnson: face didn't fit with the spin doctors

During last autumn's Labour conference, Ms Johnson's differences with Mr Campbell surfaced when she wrote to the BBC pleading for Mr Blair's speech to be given preference over the O. J. Simpson acquittal. Described by colleagues as a tough and sometimes abrasive operator, Ms Johnson is a strong believer in news-driven campaigning, but her moderniser critics say she is the wrong person for the job.

Ms Johnson took a £16,000 salary cut when she was unanimously appointed by Labour's national executive to the £24,000 job. In a pointed comment for the party conference handbook last year, she wrote: "I am not a spin doctor for the very good reason that we won't win by spin. We will win by getting our policies right."

Nicholas Jones, the BBC's political correspondent, said in his recent book *Soundbites and Spindoctors* that Ms Johnson had "made no secret of her forthright leftwing views".

Ms Johnson declined to comment last night, while a Labour Party spokesman said he could not comment on any confidential negotiations between Ms Johnson and the party. But he said: "Ms Johnson was at work on Friday and she will be at work on Monday."

It is understood there will be no move to replace Ms Johnson. Her departure comes at a critical time as the political parties start the detailed planning of their general election campaigns. The Conservatives have started booking extra office space for a possible general election in October.

# Mother who died in multiple killing was living at refuge

Alex Bellis

**A**MOTHER killed at the weekend with four of her children had recently left her home in Bristol to live in a refuge for battered wives, police said last night. The 35-year-old woman was stabbed to death on Saturday at Birmingham New Street Station, where she was due to collect her 2½-year-old son from his father under a weekly custody arrangement. The boy was found strangled in a car parked nearby.

A 38-year-old man, believed to be the woman's estranged husband, was disarmed by a policewoman and a passer-by, and was in custody last night being interviewed about the attack and another incident in Bristol in which three sisters, aged nine, 11 and 14, were found dead.

All the children are believed to be from the same family. Two other brothers were found safe and well and were being looked after by their grandparents. Detective Superintendent Malcolm Ross, of West Midlands Police, said that all the family lived in a terraced house in Montpellier, Bristol, until the mother left several months ago to live with her youngest son in a refuge in Edgbaston, Birmingham. He said: "She was living in a refuge to try to give her some respite from some on-



Policewoman Jill Spencer: tackled man with knife

going domestic problems." The couple, believed to be Asian, met weekly at either Birmingham or Bristol Temple Meads station to hand over the boy. "The family are known to social services," said Det Supt Ross. He said the boy found in the car was handed to the father at midday at the station, but officers were trying to trace their movements from then until the arranged meeting with the mother at 5pm.

Det Supt Ross praised the bravery of Harry Robinson, aged 48, a financial consultant, and Jill Spencer, aged 21, of the British Transport Police for tackling the knife-wielding attacker. "Both acted with great courage," Mr Robinson, who has served in the Royal Signals, said that when he came out of the station, "I could see di-

rectly in front of me a man about 20 yards away, with a woman at his feet. He appeared to be punching her and kicking her.

"I hesitated slightly — no one else was going forward — and I ran towards him and as I did so, I raised my bag and threw it at him from about 6ft away. That knocked him back only about 6ft, against a car.

"I again launched forward and threw my bag at him, which knocked him back again. Then the police officer arrived at my side and was shouting at him. I don't know whether he dropped the knife or whether she hit him, but the knife fell to the ground.

"The officer ran forward and retrieved the knife and the man disappeared off between the cars. We tried to give first aid to the lady but there was massive bleeding." Prayers were said yesterday at St Agnes, in Montpellier, which has suffered three disasters in as many weeks. The Rev David Self spoke of his congregation's reaction. "There is shock, stress, pain and anxiety — bewilderment. What on earth is going on?"

On New Year's Day Evon Berry, aged 37, caretaker of the nearby Malcolm X community centre, St Paul's, was gunned down going to aid a man being mugged. Last week a couple were found hanged in their terraced home following the death of their daughter last year.

## Chronology

**1995** Mother leaves family home in Montpellier, Bristol, with youngest son to live in refuge in Edgbaston, Birmingham.

**Saturday January 20** Noon Boy handed to father in Birmingham. Due to meet mother at station two hours later to hand back child as part of custody arrangement.

2pm Mother seen at Birmingham station being attacked by man with knife. She later dies. Man disarmed and taken to hospital. Boy found strangled in car nearby.

4pm Avon and Somerset Police, acting on West Midlands Police advice, break into a Montpellier house. Three girls found dead. Police link killings.

6pm Man leaves hospital and taken into police custody.

**DOMESTIC** violence accounts for 25 per cent of recorded crime in Britain, writes John Eazard. Some 18 per cent of murder victims in England and Wales are wives killed by their husbands.

Separation is no guarantee of safety. In more than 30 per cent of murders of wives by husbands, the couple were not living together. In most cases, the wife had left a violent husband.

A London study found more than half the victims of domestic violence were living apart from their husbands.

Nationally, incidents of domestic violence began almost doubling in the late 1980s, according to Home Office figures. Cases rose from 12,000 to 26,000 a year. In London, reported attacks of all kinds on women rose from 5,000 in 1980 to nearly 10,000 two years later.

A quarter of battered women are attacked while pregnant. A total of 30,000 women a year receive help from women's refuges, according to official figures. A parliamentary report in the 1970s urged that 800

should be set up. There are now 370.

The Police Federation and the Association of Directors of Social Services have said more refuge spaces are urgently needed.

The Conservative-dominated Commons home affairs committee urged in 1983 that a national network be set up.

Commenting on this call, a Home Office spokeswoman said the Government spent £7.3 million a year on victim support schemes for all victims of crime.

One of Britain's leading aid groups for Asian wives, Southall Black Sisters, deals with 1,500 cases a year.

One woman, Baiwant Kaur, was stabbed to death by her husband at Brent Asian women's refuge in 1985. Six years later Vandana Patel, aged 21, was stabbed to death by her estranged husband as he embraced her during a meeting to resolve their problems in the domestic violence unit of Stoke Newington police station, north London. This led to a rule that couples with a violent record should no longer be left alone in police stations.

# A slow start on the Larkin Trail

Martin Wainwright discovers that the attractions of the poet's ordinary pleasures in Hull are pulling in a very select band of literary tourist

**O**NE OF Britain's oddest guided tours has got off to a slow and hesitant start, in a way which would have delighted its self-effacing hero, Philip Larkin.

Only a handful of pioneers have so far braved the rigors of Marks and Spencer's in Hull, two cemeteries and a Chinese restaurant where the poet enjoyed the char sui followed by pastry and custard.

Gambling on these mundane attractions, along with some park swings and the 1990 national public toilets of the year, the Yorkshire port is nonetheless confident about its first big attempt to exploit Larkin's fame.

"We've had quite a number of phone inquiries," says the municipal tourist office in Carr Lane. "Admittedly, most of the people asking 'where is Marks and Spencer' are more interested in shopping than poetry, but it's early days. We think the trail will catch on."

The trail is a Larkin enthusiast's journey through the parts of Hull which appealed to the poet because of their ordinariness. Away from conventional draws like Wilberforce's house and the Land of Green Ginger alleyway, the route takes in 10 pubs on a four mile zig-zag, plus Hull railway station where, the accompanying guidebook explains, Larkin spent much of his time catching trains.

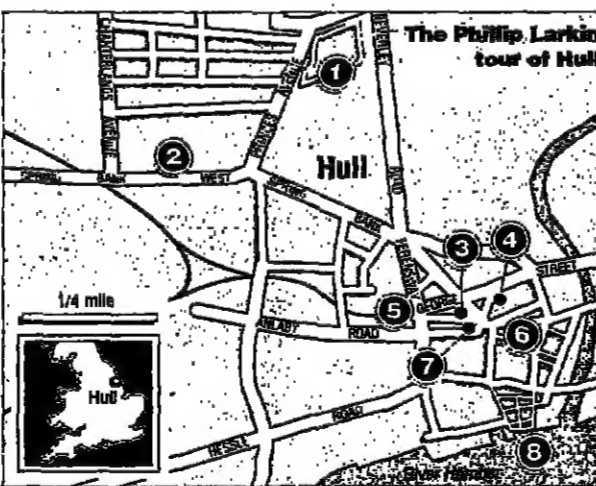
band George "as soon as Brown's stocks dropped below an acceptable level".

Billy Lee at the nearby Dy-nasty Chinese restaurant remembers Larkin — a "charming, quiet man" — coming in for the businessman's lunch. Mr Lee, then a waiter, now the restaurant's owner, says hopefully: "Maybe we will get some people coming in and saying 'Can I have Mr Larkin's seat?', but it hasn't happened yet."

Another highlight on the slow-burning new attraction is the poet's last home, 105 Newland Park, which he described authoritatively as "the ugliest one-roomed house in Hull". It is still a private home, but a discreet observer can see the garden where the poet, to his great anguish, eliminated a hedgehog with his lawn-mower (The Mower, Collected Poems p. 214).

In the interests of fairness, the tour balances Newland Park with Spring Bank Cemetery (stop 12), which Larkin described to his fellow-poet John Betjeman as "the most beautiful spot in Hull" and chose for the sleeve-cover of a poetry-reading LP.

The guidebook is published by Hutton Press and Hull University Library, where Larkin's interest in Marks and Spencer was stimulated by the carrier bags brought back after lunch by female staff. The store's manager, Frances Felletti, said: "Perhaps we should be thinking about a plaque here," and promised to look up The Large Cool Store which Larkin wrote after tracking down the source of the bags. "Maybe the Larkin Society could organise a celebratory pin too, for walkers who finish the trail and visit all 44 stops."



- 1 No 22 Pearsons Park An attic-dweller for 13 years.
- 2 Spring Bank Cemetery Most beautiful spot in Hull.
- 3 Dynasty Chinese Restaurant The businessman's lunch.
- 4 Brown Books Where he checked his stock.
- 5 Hull railway station A major influence.
- 6 Marks and Spencer Lingerer among the lingerie.
- 7 Hull City Hall Boxing and jazz venue.
- 8 Hull Corporation pier Where the toilets win awards.

## The Large Cool Store

The large cool store selling cheap clothes Set out in simple sizes plainly (Knitwear, Summer, Casuals, Hose, in browns and greys, maroon and navy) Conjures the weekday world of those

Who leave at dawn low terraced houses Timed for factory, yard and site. But past the heaps of shirts and trousers Spread the stands of Modes for Night: Machine-embroidered, thin as blouses.

Lemon, sapphire, moss-green, rose Bri-Nylon Baby-Dolls and Shorties Flounce in clusters. To suppose They share that world, to think their sort is Matched by something in it, shows

How separate and unearthly love is. Or women are, or what they do. Or in our young unreal wishes Seem to be: synthetic, new, And natureless in ecstasies.

18 June 1961

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'Someone had taken 36 of them to a neighbouring farmer's pen. They sorted out the spring lambs, which are the best ones, and took them away'



Gary Younge on a lucrative business

Counting sheep... Joe Towers, who lost £2,000 worth of lambs at his Camp Cross Farm in Hornby, tends his Charollais Cross flock. PHOTOGRAPH: DON MOPHEE

## Farmers beef up security to combat sheep rustlers

EVERY night Joe Towers, a livestock farmer from Hornby in Lancashire, counts sheep before he goes to sleep. When he wakes up he counts them again. One morning the numbers didn't tally.

"Someone had taken 36 of them to a neighbouring farmer's pen. They sorted out the spring lambs, which are the best ones and took them away. They were worth about £2,000."

Tim Price, spokesman for NFU Mutual, the largest farmers' insurer, said: "In the past five years we have seen an increase of theft in livestock and machines of over 250 per cent." Rustling now accounts for about a quarter of Mutual's claims bill and costs farmers about £3.5 million.

Last week 39 Friesian cows, valued at £30,000 were stolen near Basildon in Essex. In Scotland rustlers stole £40,000 worth of

livestock. The worst affected areas are Exmoor, Cumbria, North Yorkshire and Lancashire.

The BSE scare has made sheep rustling especially lucrative as the demand for cattle has plummeted and lamb prices have soared.

There have been at least three more cases in Hornby since Mr Towers was rustled and local farmers are convinced there will be more cases. Hornby is less than 15 minutes away from

the M6, providing a quick getaway after a theft that is relatively difficult to detect.

So farmers have got together, with the help of the police and the National Farmers' Union, to keep a close eye on each other's sheep and to offer rewards to anyone who can help them find the rustlers.

Last year farmers in North Yorkshire, where 1,000 sheep valued at £50,000 were stolen in a

number of weeks, set up Operation Sheepwatch. Increasingly farmers are stepping up security, using search lights, alarmed gates and CCTV cameras. One farmer in Northern Ireland even dyed his sheep orange to foil thieves.

But so far attempts to catch the culprits have failed. Mr Towers is convinced rustlers in his area are people with local and farming knowledge who slaughter the sheep immediately. "I'm sure my lambs were dead, skinned and at the market within hours."

Mr Price thinks they work on two levels: "Some are one-offs — a few lambs taken for the pot or a bull-neck or two taken for butchering. Others are organised professional rustlers who have planned where and when to strike, have transport readily available and are willing to trade stock at the other end of the country."

## Ashdown's price for Labour deal

Rebecca Smithers  
Political Correspondent

THE Liberal Democrat leader, Paddy Ashdown, yesterday challenged Labour to a firm commitment on electoral reform as a pre-condition for a future coalition government.

While firmly ruling out the prospect of any pre-election pact, Mr Ashdown said wide-ranging reforms Britain needed to repair "the wreckage left behind by the Conservative Party" could probably not be carried out by a single party of a single parliament, and that a coalition government would have to last for two terms.

Calling on Tony Blair to make clear his commitment to go through with Labour's promise to hold a referendum on reform of the voting system, Mr Ashdown made it clear that all options were open, which could mean support in a hung parliament or formal co-operation with a Labour majority outcome. The party co-operated with the Conservatives over the Maastricht treaty, for example.

Mr Ashdown suggested the Liberal Democrats could be the "cayenne chilli", providing the reforming zeal in an otherwise bland administration.

Stressing the importance of electoral reform to produce a fairer voting system, Mr Ashdown said: "I believe the things that need to be done in this country cannot be done unless you have a modern

constitution. That is the enabling measure that makes the other things possible."

His party wanted to see a commitment to a reformed and modernised constitution. "Insofar as there is a message for Labour, our message is: 'We are prepared to be clear about this. Are you?'"

It was important to be forward-looking and positive about policies and that was what "new politics" was all about. "I think the people of this country are fed up to the back teeth with politicians who spend their entire time slagging each other off and aren't prepared to work, where they agree and where it's in the country's interests."

In a speech in London to party members today he will flesh out his ideas, using Scotland as an example of the benefits of PR. "Scotland has shown the way" he will say. "It was proportional representation which turned plans for a Scottish parliament from an exclusive institution for Labour monopoly power into an inclusive institution which could draw support from the whole of Scotland. Labour's leaders in Scotland showed great wisdom in understanding that without fair votes no lasting institution would be possible."

On Wednesday, Mr Ashdown, in a party political broadcast featuring Emma Nicholson, the Tory MP who defected to the Liberal Democrats, will urge all Conservative supporters and voters who feel that the party has become out of touch to follow in her footsteps.

## Second huge jackpot renews lottery storm

Andrew Gull  
Media Correspondent

A NEW outbreak of National Lottery mania is expected this week, with record ticket sales predicted for the year's second £40 million-plus jackpot.

But the controversy over the size of the prize intensified yesterday when it emerged that the National Heritage Secretary, Virginia Bottomley, had agreed to meet church leaders to hear their concerns.

Saturday's draw will be the second double rollover jackpot in three weeks, a statistical freak which has astonished the public. The weekend's £23.8 million top prize was not won, despite ticket sales of £86.7 million, a record for a single rollover week.

A Camelot spokeswoman said: "Statistically, we would expect a double rollover every three or four years, not two so close together. It is extraordinary."

David Rigg, director of communications, said it was likely to be 400 years before two double rollovers occurred consecutively.

Although it is likely to generate record sales, the timing is unfortunate for Camelot, anxious to calm controversy about the size of jackpots. Opposition politicians and church leaders are likely to renew their attacks.

A delegation of church leaders — including representatives from the Churches of England and Scotland, the Roman Catholic Church, Baptists and Methodists — is to meet Mrs Bottomley, led by the Rt Rev David Sheppard, Bishop of Liverpool. It hopes to raise questions about the size of the jackpot and about under-age players.

The Rt Rev Philip Goodrich, the Bishop of Worcester, who described the first double rollover as grotesque, said the meeting was timely. "If it gets bigger and bigger, where is it going to stop? I would rather see a lot of people being helped, than it going to help one person."

Speaking on BBC Radio 4's Any Questions at the weekend, Mrs Bottomley defended large jackpots as a way to maximise the cash raised for the lottery's five good causes. Labour would consider capping the jackpot and John Cunningham, the shadow

heritage secretary, is leading a working group reviewing the party's lottery policies.

Saturday's jackpot could exceed the £42.5 million, shared by three winners on January 8. Then, ticket sales topped £128 million, with 90 per cent of the population taking part, and the computer network crashed briefly hours before the draw.

Double rollovers could become less likely after March, when Camelot introduces a new way of playing called Lucky Dip. Customers will be able to choose to let the machine select six random numbers for them. This will mean many more possible combinations, because players at present are more likely to choose numbers between 1 and 31, using birthdays and anniversaries to make their selection.

The numbers drawn at the weekend were: 5, 23, 25, 30, 33 and 37; the bonus number was 3. Twenty-one people each won £165,765 for matching five numbers and the bonus ball. A total of 1,084 people won £2,007 each for matching five numbers; £1,052 won £29 for getting four numbers; and 1,728,211 picked up £10 for matching three numbers.

## Neck-holds row reopens

Family claims Nigerian died from choking after he was arrested

Owen Bowcott

CONTROVERSY over the use of neck holds by police officers to restrain suspects is likely to be revived today by an inquest on a Nigerian asylum-seeker.

In the aftermath of the Brixton riot last month — which followed the deaths of two West Indian men in police custody — the case of Shije Lapite will also highlight concerns about how such incidents are investigated.

Mr Lapite, aged 30, a father of two, was arrested by officers from Stoke Newington police station in north London on December 16, 1994. Within less than an hour of being detained, he was dead. Earlier that day he had been given leave to stay in Britain pending an examination of his case by the Home Office.

The police said later that he had been stopped because he was "acting suspiciously" and a subsequent post-mortem found substantial quantities of cocaine in his body.

But the report, supporters of Mr Lapite's family claim, suggested that the likely cause of death was asphyxia from compression of the neck.

Two police officers have been suspended since December 1994, but the Crown Prosecution Service has said there is "insufficient evidence to support a realistic prospect of conviction". Following the verdict of unlawful killing on

been hindered by the refusal of the Metropolitan Police, the complaints authority, and the coroner's office to hand over documents before the inquest.

The complaints authority is still investigating the deaths of Brian Douglas and Wayne Douglas, in not related to each other in police custody in south London last year. It is also expected to announce the coming weeks whether officers will be charged over the death of Richard O'Brien, who died after being arrested in Southwark in early 1994.

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St Olave's and St Saviour's grammar school in Orpington, Kent, where the shadow health secretary will send her 11-year-old son

PHOTOGRAPH: MARTIN ARGLES

## Grammar school offers pupils best academic performance in the area, coupled with accessibility Logic that led to Harman's selection

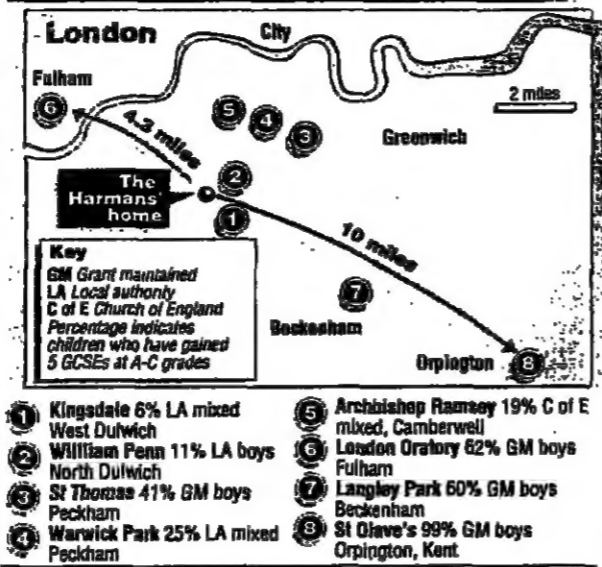
Martin Linton

FROM the point of view of Harriet Harman's 11-year-old son, Joe, the decision to send him to St Olave's and St Saviour's grammar school in Orpington, Kent, appears to make good sense.

His nearest comprehensive school is Kingsdale, 15 minutes' walk away and next door to one of the most prestigious independent schools in the capital, Dulwich College. But on the commonest yardstick of scholastic success — the percentage of children passing five GCSEs at grades A to C — Dulwich scores 59 per cent and Kingsdale 6 per cent.

Academically the best local authority school he could go

### School choices in south London



to in the London Borough of Southwark is Warwick Park, two miles away. It scores 25 per cent. But it lies in his mother's constituency of Peckham.

If grant-maintained schools were to be included, he could go to some much more successful schools, including St Thomas the Apostle, a Roman Catholic college, which scores

41 per cent. But even that falls below the national average success rate of children passing five GCSEs at grades A to C, which is 44 per cent. To find an above average school in the state sector Ms Harman would have to look to another borough nearby. Joe could follow his older brother to London Oratory School, where one of his classmates would be Tony Blair's son. It is a grant-maintained boys' comprehensive with a relatively high score of 62 per cent.

However, although it is only just over four miles away, it involves a complicated bus journey through the West End to the school, which is near Chelsea Football ground.

It is much easier to get on a train and go in the opposite direction to the London borough of Bromley, where the average school scores 47 per cent and the state grammar school of St Olave's and St Saviour's scores 99 per cent.

Many of his classmates at Dulwich Hamlet primary school have sat the entrance

exam for this 400-year-old school, which still selects its pupils by 11-plus exam and interview. Although it is nearly 10 miles door to door, there are twice-hourly trains taking 28 minutes and costing £2.90 return.

Ironically the school moved from Southwark about 50 years ago, leaving a girl's school behind which is known as St Saviour's and St Olave's, now a successful Church of England comprehensive which scores 42 per cent.

The boys' school acquired grant-maintained status two years ago, but it has always been a grammar school. It has been able to remain a grammar school because it was in the Conservative-controlled borough of Bromley, which never went fully comprehensive in the 1970s and 1980s.

Competition to enter is now intense and, under new legislation, which does not allow schools to refuse children to qualify under the schools' admission criteria, it has attracted entrants from all over south London. The school has excellent facilities, including 28 acres of grounds and playing fields and its own swimming pool and squash courts, and phenomenally good results for a state school.

Not only do 99 per cent of pupils score A to C in their GCSEs, but the average A level entrant scores 22.9 points, the equivalent of three B grades. On both counts it scores exactly the same as Dulwich College.

It came sixth in a Dally Mail survey of state school A level results in August, with 36 per cent of pupils achieving A grades, and was the second most successful state school.

It is the fact that the school is selective that makes the decision far more controversial than the decision of Tony Blair and Cherie Blair that their son can go to the London Oratory.

The Labour Party made it clear last October that it would not force grant-maintained schools back under local authority control, but that it would allow them to adopt a new "foundation" status.

### News in brief

## Ex-soldier in court challenge to GCHQ

A HIGH Court judge has given a former soldier the right to challenge the recruitment policy of GCHQ, the Government's eavesdropping centre, on the ground that it is irrational and an abuse of human rights.

Judge Stephen Sedley granted Luigi Manelli, 33, a former soldier in the Royal Armoured Corps and officer in the Ministry of Defence Police, leave to apply for a judicial review of GCHQ's policy of refusing to give jobs to people whose parents are not Commonwealth citizens after he was told he could not apply for the job of a GCHQ investigating officer. Mr Manelli was born in Britain and is a British citizen, but his parents, who live in Britain where they were married in 1961, are Italian and German.

Liberty, the civil liberties group, won the right to challenge GCHQ's nationality rules in the courts on behalf of Mr Manelli. It argues the rules are irrational and do not conform to the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. — Richard Norton-Taylor

## Bypass chainsaw plea

CHAINSAW workers on the Newbury bypass site will be confronted by poignant messages asking them to spare the trees when they start work today, after dozens of children joined their parents for a Friends of the Earth "tree dressing" demonstration at the weekend. The protesters tied bows and ribbons around the doomed oaks and silver birches and left poems and letters pinned to the trunks, asking the woodmen to spare the trees as activists prepare for another week of confrontation with contractors.

## Public back royal divorce

A DIVORCE between the Prince and Princess of Wales would have the support of three out of four people, with only one in 10 opposed, according to an NOP telephone poll of 1,000 people aged 15-plus in England, Wales and Scotland, between January 12 and 14.

However, only 67 per cent believe divorce should not bar the prince from becoming king, while 37 per cent believe it should.

## Sailor's gamble pays off

A SOLO yachtswoman attempting to sail 27,000 miles non-stop the "wrong-way" round the world, against the prevailing winds and currents, yesterday completed a dangerous short-cut by sailing through the Le Maire Strait off Argentina in the South Atlantic and striking being driven on to rocks. Samantha Rutherford, 29, from Baddlesham, Suffolk — who is racing to beat the 161-day record for a westbound circumnavigation — is now expected to round Cape Horn early today after setting out from Santos, Brazil, on January 3.

## Fire victim, 85, dies

LOUISE Allen, 85, died yesterday after being pulled from her blazing cottage in St Oyston, near Clacton, Essex, by two policemen on Friday night. The blaze is not being treated as suspicious.

## White-out fears 'exaggerated'

A CHILL start to the week, with steady east winds and snow in some areas is expected by the London Weather Centre, which has discounted warnings of a second cold snap with widespread snow as premature. "Reports of a white-out on the way are at present rather exaggerated," a spokesman said, adding that the worst weather was expected in East Anglia, the Pennines and south Wales. — John Eazard

## Independent puts up price

THE price of the Independent goes up to 40p today, from 35p. It is the paper's second price rise since the end of the price war and follows increases in both the Times and Telegraph.

## Six of the best who embarrass Labour

Union leader points to problems of finding good inner-city schools

AT LEAST six Labour MPs will have children at grant-maintained schools next year, which still embarrasses the party, even though it is no longer committed to abolishing grant-maintained status, writes Martin Linton.

In some cases, Labour MPs have had children at a school long before it was declared grant-maintained and are reluctant to disrupt their education.

Peter Kilfoyle, Labour MP for Liverpool Walton, and Jane Kennedy, MP for neighbouring Broadgreen, have both sent boys to the city's Blue Coat School and have not wanted to switch them.

Paul Boateng, MP for Brent South, has a daughter at the Watford Grammar School for Girls — a comprehensive school, de-

spite its name, in a county where nearly half the schools are now grant-maintained.

Peter Hain, MP for Neath, has had sons at a grant-maintained comprehensive in Wandsworth, south London, but only three of the secondary schools in that flagship borough have volunteered to stay under local authority control.

Front-benchers David Blunkett and Jack Straw have secondary school-age children who go to local-authority run comprehensives in Sheffield and London.

Even in the teaching unions, not everyone has criticised politicians like Tony Blair and Harriet Harman who have left themselves with hard choices by bringing up children in inner London.

"I don't criticise the Harman family for their choice," said Nigel de Gruchy, general secretary of the National Association of Schoolmasters' Union of Women Teachers, whose son went to the same school.

"I understand her family decision. What I criticise is the Labour Party for ignoring until recently the fate of inner-city comprehensives.

"We're getting lectures from Tony Blair about standards and quality, but we've been warning the Labour Party for the last 20 years about the dangers of going comprehensive on inadequate resources."

He argues that he could have given the Labour government of the 1970s a list of failing secondary schools in inner London which would have included most of the schools the Blair and the Harman children have now passed over.

"In many parts of the country the comprehensive

system is working well, but in the inner city everyone is scraping around looking for a half-way decent school. These schools have an impossible task to succeed in the inner city with very sparse resources."

Mr de Gruchy faced similar criticism when his son went to the school and explained that it was a "family decision" taken with his American-born wife, Judy, and his son Paul.

He had the defence that it was his closest neighbourhood school and it was not his sole decision. "As an individual I am free to make decisions. I think are appropriate."

"I don't see any conflict. I keep my trade union job quite away from the school."

He actively opposed the move towards opting out at the parents' consultative meeting.

"I voted against the move and I was very disappointed," he said.

## Poll support for return to 11-plus and grammar schools

Donald MacLeod Education Correspondent

JOHN Major's drive to highlight the return of selection as a distinctive Conservative education policy is striking a chord with voters, a poll published today suggests.

More than half those questioned said they would back a return to full selection, with grammar schools, secondary moderns and the 11-plus examination.

But the idea was opposed by a narrow majority of parents and younger voters.

The poll, carried out for the

Association of Teachers and Lecturers by Harris, comes as an embarrassment for teachers' unions and the Labour Party who are fighting the introduction of limited selection by the Government.

Gillian Shepherd, the Education and Employment Secretary, announced that comprehensive schools would be allowed to select up to 15 per cent of their pupils by ability or aptitude for sport and music. Schools will also be able to interview parents before admitting their children — a move seen as wooing middle-class parents.

Asked if the Government should go further, 54 per cent

of the sample of 980 adults agreed, while 37 per cent disagreed and 9 per cent did not know or refused to answer.

Among 35 to 44-year-olds, the age group of most parents with secondary school children, 50 per cent were opposed to selection and 45 per cent were in favour. Among 18 to 25-year-olds, 49 per cent were opposed and 41 per cent favoured it.

Opinion varied across the country, with Scots the least likely to favour a return to selection, and East Anglia, the North, Wales and the South-east most in favour.

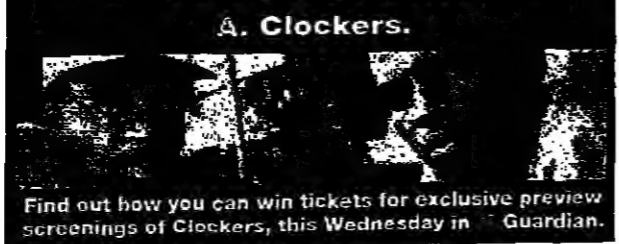
Peter Smith, the association's general secretary, said

the poll showed support for bringing back grammar schools, but the Conservatives would be unwise to pick on academic selection as a vote-winner.

"The overall majority comes from the middle-aged and elderly voters. It masks the fact that those with the most recent experience of comprehensive schooling are against selection, and that those most likely to have children of secondary school age are even more opposed."

The result showed people's worries about the quality of education. Grammar schools might be seen as a guarantee of quality.

Q. What do you get if you cross Spike Lee with Martin Scorsese and Harvey Keitel?  
A. Clockers.



Find out how you can win tickets for exclusive preview screenings of Clockers, this Wednesday in Guardian.

The regime of General Sani Abacha remains a grand bewilderment in its incredible hostility and contempt for civil order.

Media G2 page 8

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Austria demands truth on Allies' cold war tactics

# Britain pressed to reveal arsenals

Ian Traynor in Bonn

AUSTRIA has demanded that Britain reveal whether it secretly hid arms supplies in the Alpine republic in the early days of the cold war to counter a perceived threat of a Red Army invasion.

Chancellor Franz Vranitzky said yesterday that Britain would be asked "pragmatically and sensibly" to come clean about possible secret arms dumps dating from the four Allied powers' occupation of Austria after the war.

The decision to seek clarification follows revelations that there are still dozens of secret United States weapons caches scattered across Austria more than 40 years after the Americans hid them in flagrant breach of Austria's constitutionally enshrined "permanent neutrality".

The weapons dumps are understood to include small arms, ammunition and other weaponry for waging guerrilla resistance against a putative Soviet invasion, but not nuclear, chemical or biological weapons.

Following a report about the arms dumps in the Boston Globe, the US ambassador in Vienna, Swann Hunt, told Mr Vranitzky and President Thomas Klestil that in the

early 1950s, when the Soviet Union controlled eastern Austria and a large part of Vienna, the US secretly authorised almost 80 clandestine arms dumps lest the Kremlin tried to extend westwards its control of eastern Europe.

Ms Hunt said the 79 arms dumps still existed and apologised for not informing Austria earlier.

Austrian leaders reacted with predictable indignation and demanded that the US launch an inquiry into the violation of Austria's neutrality. This issue is a sore point for Vienna, particularly now that the end of East-West confrontation has undermined the case for neutrality.

The US arms dumps appear to be part of a more widespread operation across western Europe in the 1950s, the high point of the McCarthy-era fear of a Soviet take-over of Austria, Italy and France.

In a parallel scandal in Italy after the collapse of communism, strong suspicions emerged that the Gladio network of anti-communists funded and armed by the CIA exploited American backing and supplies to further their domestic political programmes, possibly becoming involved in rightwing terrorism.

Austrian television said yesterday that the clandestine

deposits also contained gold coins, to enable the favoured networks to finance their operations. The Boston Globe said the gold could include British sovereigns.

Austria did not regain full independence after the war until 1955 when the Soviet Union agreed to withdraw in return for the country's rejection of the Nato alliance and the affirmation of permanent neutrality.

But the Kremlin-controlled Warsaw Pact extended virtually to the gates of Vienna, halting at the Slovak, Czech and Hungarian borders just to the north and east. And the superpowers, as in Berlin, lived cheek-by-jowl in Vienna, turning the city into a centre of cloak-and-dagger rivalry.

Following the US revelations, triggered by findings of a US congressional committee looking into the cold war operations of the CIA, Mr Vranitzky told national television yesterday it was conceivable that the other occupying powers — Britain, France and the former Soviet Union — also deployed secret arsenals in Austria.

"Approaching the other three occupation powers and asking them whether they, too, still have secret deposits on Austrian soil will be dealt with," he said.



Winter grief... A woman visits a family grave in Lion's cemetery in Sarajevo, where more than 10,000 were killed in the war. PHOTOGRAPH: RIKARD LARMA

# Quiet judicial mechanism ticks at Europe's heart

In the first of a four-part series on key EU bodies, Stephen Bates peels back the facade of the Court of Justice

THE building on the industrial estate beside the bypass looks like any suburban corporate headquarters. Built in 1970s brutalist style — all plate glass and exposed steel beams — the European Court of Justice does not have the grandeur of the Law Courts in the Strand.

Yet, arguably, it is where Europe's future is being defined in greater detail than anywhere else by the interpretation of its laws and regulations.

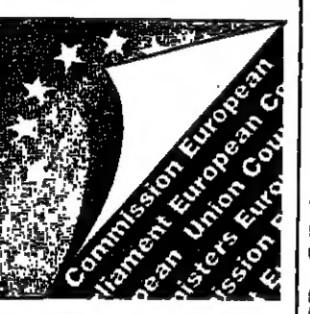
Euro-sceptics in Britain certainly think so. They claim the court is imposing its will on our judicial system with little sympathy for tradition.

Go there any week-day and you may see British barristers mingling with French lawyers as they prepare to argue cases before the highest-paid judges in Europe.

They are on salaries equivalent to £160,000 a year, plus allowances. Executing Euro-justice next year will cost about £170 million.

Last week, the judges were listening to British complaints about the imposition of a European standard on working hours which, on the one hand, could cost companies millions of pounds to introduce but, on the other, would be welcomed by many overworked Britons.

But they were also, for example, working out whether a



Belgian artist had been discriminated against by a refusal to hang her pictures in the Council of Ministers' building in Brussels.

It is not a great spectacle. Much of the pleading is done in writing. You are likely to find the judges in their chambers studying cases and writing up opinions and reports.

But this is not like the English or Scottish legal systems. Even though each member state supplies a judge for a six-year term, the model is much more continental, based on a consensus about the meaning of the law.

The judges have to wear French-style robes and usually communicate in French. Their procedures are based on the French. Bill Cash, the Tory Euro-sceptic, has even been heard to mutter that only Euro-enthusiasts need apply — and where's the justice in that?

The British government, driven by its backbenches, has been infuriated by judgments on equal pay and prescription charges liable to cost taxpayers millions of pounds. Although no member state has ever been fined, the effect of rulings can be costly.

Last autumn the Government suggested that if the court made judgments that were too sensitive, they might be referred upwards to the Council of Ministers.

Ministers eventually backed off, but they would still like the court to be cut down to size.

The sceptics would like to see judges signing their rulings rather than issuing an anonymous collective decision. The judges, who each take an oath not to divulge their deliberations which are carried out in secret, suspect that this is to make sure each upholds the national interest.

One senior figure said: "The British government is making itself ridiculous. This constant, ill-informed niggling reduces their influence and discounts their ideas."

Who, they ask, actually makes the laws they are interpreting? The member states' governments or the Council of Ministers. And who signals Britain up to the single market — imposing the largest number of rules and regulations to come out of Europe? Margaret Thatcher, of course.

The decisions are handed out to us by politicians. Sometimes, they are rubbish!

with the loyal support of Mr Cash and his friends.

The lawyers say bluntly that the European Union is a club Britain joined, and it needs to obey the rules.

Privately, it does so, and more speedily than most. Despite the complaints, in its 22-year membership of the European Community, Britain has been taken to the court just 35 times. By comparison, Luxembourg has been before the judges 63 times and Italy 297.

If the law is opaque and has to be interpreted to resolve disputes, whose fault is that? The lawyers blame the politicians.

Clive Stanbrook — the son of a Euro-sceptic former Tory MP — has based his law practice in Brussels for nearly 20 years. "The member states reach an agreement based on what they believe they can defend in their own parliaments rather than something aimed at clarity in law," Mr Stanbrook said. "They are decisions handed out to us by politicians. Sometimes, they are absolute rubbish."

A case can be made that the court is slow: judgments can take six to eight years to hand down. On average, it is closer to two years — but the list is getting longer.

The delays are such that there is every incentive for companies, or countries, to get round a law by making sure it is never passed in the first place. Potentially more insidious than any court of anonymous judges, the lobbyists are moving in.

Next: Inside the European Parliament

# US team visits mass grave site

Julian Burger in Glogova

THE United States government's chief war crimes investigator visited a mass grave site yesterday, discovered in north-eastern Bosnia by the Guardian and three American journalists. He said up to 2,000 Muslims slaughtered after the fall of Srebrenica may have been buried there.

John Shattuck, the assistant secretary of state for human rights, led a small cavalcade of embassy and press vehicles through Serb checkpoints to Glogova, in a display of US determination to travel freely around Bosnia and investigate war crimes.

The Nato-led implementation force (I-For) said yesterday it did not plan to make troops available to protect war crimes investigators, but Mr Shattuck said he was confident justice would be done.

"Ultimately justice and long-term peace must go together. That is a fundamental element of the Dayton agreement," he told journalists.

Mr Shattuck was travelling without I-For protection but had a Serbian police escort, a reflection of Belgrade's eagerness to distance itself from the Bosnian Serb leadership.

The Guardian reported the existence of two mass graves at Glogova on Friday. Mr Shattuck said there was reason to believe that the graves held the bodies of up to 2,000 Muslim men slaughtered in a warehouse in the nearby village of Kravica.

Standing on the snow-covered grave site at the side of a dirt road, eyed by suspicious but bewildered Bosnian Serb policemen, Mr Shattuck said: "Virtually everyone who was in the warehouse was killed. We think this may well be the

place where they are buried." He and his entourage also visited the Kravica warehouse, located by the Guardian (accompanied by the Washington Post, Time magazine and the Christian

"Virtually everyone in the Kravica warehouse was killed"

Science Monitor) last week. War crimes investigators believe it is the site of one of the worst atrocities in Europe since the Holocaust.

The warehouse is now being used as an animal shed. But the bullet and shrapnel scars on the inside walls corroborate survivors' testimony that Muslim prisoners held

there were massacred with machine-gun fire and grenades through the windows and doors.

Mr Shattuck said the victims had been trying to escape the Serb onslaught on Srebrenica last July and had been lured off the hills by Serb fighters posing as United Nations peacekeepers offering them shelter and safety. He said 7,000 men from Srebrenica were still unaccounted for.

Despite mounting evidence of horrific war crimes, Nato announced that it would not deploy I-For troops to assist the examination of suspected mass graves. An I-For statement quoted Admiral Leigh-Smith, the force commander, as saying: "Nato is not, I repeat, not, going to provide specific security, or in other words guarantee these sites."

Colonel Mark Rayner, a Nato spokesman, said I-For's primary concern was the failure of the Bosnian government and the Bosnian Serbs to release all their prisoners of war by last week's deadline.

Haris Silajdzic, Bosnia's prime minister, announced yesterday he would not stay in his post to lead a national post-war government due to be formed next month under the Dayton peace deal.

The governing Party of Democratic Action handed Hasan Muratovic, currently minister without portfolio, the task of forming a cabinet which represents the Muslim-Croat Federation and the Serb Republic, the two halves of post-war Bosnia envisaged by the Dayton agreement.

Mr Silajdzic resigned over a procedural dispute within the party over the make-up of the new government.

# Defiant Chechen rebels deride furious opponents

Andrew Harding in Komsomolskaya, southern Chechnya, and David Hearst in Moscow

THE man who led the audacious Chechen hostage raid in Dagestan has returned home to face a court martial for "exceeding his authority".

Salman Raduyev, the "Lone Wolf" who seized 2,000 Russian hostages in Kizlyar 13 days ago, has been hailed as a hero by many Chechens, having managed to survive a ferocious aerial bombardment virtually unscathed, and to break through a supposedly impenetrable cordon of Russian elite troops taking more than 60 hostages with him.

But the Chechen separatist leader, General Dzhokhar Dudayev, said in interviews and a communiqué yesterday he intends to make an example of Mr Raduyev, aged 28.

The raid "was supposed to be a purely military occupation", Gen Dudayev grumbled. "His punishment will be such that it will hopefully deter other field commanders from taking such action in the future."

Gen Dudayev's wrath shows that he is becoming increasingly sensitive to international criticism and negative publicity. The raid last summer on the Russian town of Budyonovsk generated anger, with Moscow and foreign governments lining up to condemn "Chechen terrorists".

At another secret location in a rebel-held area of Chechnya, one of Mr Raduyev's commanders who took part in the raid on Kizlyar and the subsequent break-out from the village of Pervomayskaya, described how chaotic the Russian assault was.

Maksud Ingulbayev said that he and his fellow rebels could have broken out of the town at any time after it had been surrounded by the Russians, but that they only decided to flee when it became clear the Russians were going to use Grad missiles and risk the lives of the hostages.

casualties, but he estimated that 200 rebels escaped.

He swam over the freezing Terek river into Chechnya, having sustained a jaw wound in the fighting.

Mr Ingulbayev said the leader of the group, Mr Raduyev, emerged unscathed and was in Chechnya.

"We took about 20 Omon [special interior ministry] servicemen and several civilian hostages with us, among them women and wounded," he said.

The revelations have already severely embarrassed Russia's president, Boris Yeltsin, and his security chief, Mikhail Barsukov, both of whom claimed that the storming of Pervomayskaya had taught the Chechen rebels a lesson.

President Yeltsin has promised retaliatory strikes on Gen Dudayev's mountain bases.

Gen Dudayev has also attempted to distance himself from the hijacking last week of a Turkish ferry in the Black Sea.

"The war is taking on a life of its own," the general said, referring to his belief that the Chechen conflict will soon spread.

Leader comment, page 6

# Refugee held for hostel fire

Carsten Seibold in Lübeck

THE arrest of a Lebanese refugee who has denied accusations that he started a fire in a foreigners' hostel, sharpened a debate in Germany yesterday on whether neo-Nazism was back on the march.

Many Germans, who had assumed that neo-Nazis were to blame for the blaze that killed 10 people, were perplexed by the arrest.

Police in the northern port city of Lübeck arrested the civil war refugee, aged 21, who was identified only as Safwan E., after he allegedly told a firefighter "We were the ones", a prosecutor said.

The man, who lived in the hostel with his family, also knew things about last Thursday's fire that only someone who started it could have known, the prosecutor, Klaus Dieter Schultz, said.

Some asked why the rescue worker had come forward with the suspect's comment only on Friday.

The suspect's lawyer, Hans-Jürgen Wolter, said: "My client never told anyone 'We were the ones'." He added that the suspect had only related what had happened to his father during the fire, in

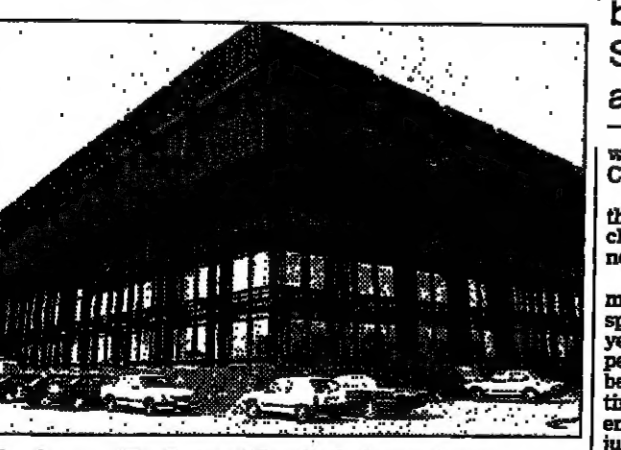
which 38 people were hurt, four of them critically. Even as experts searched for clues, many politicians spoke as if they were certain that neo-Nazis had carried out the arson attack, the worst fire in a foreigners' hostel.

Der Spiegel magazine suggested that the Israeli president, Ezer Weizman, had laid nerves bare two days before the fire by urging Germany in a speech to the Bonn parliament to be on the alert for stirrings of racism.

"Politicians and citizens who had felt sure — two days before the Lübeck inferno — that the most pressing things had already been done again have to wonder in Germany a country that keeps spawning new generations of racist criminals?" it asked.

The Welt am Sonntag weekly pointed out how quickly many German and foreign correspondents linked the fire to earlier neo-Nazi attacks: "A nation is waiting with bated breath for the result of the investigation into what and who caused the terrible fire in the refugee shelter in Lübeck."

Authorities were unable to give a motive for setting the fire, but have not ruled out a feud among families as a cause, they said. — Reuter.



Suburban... The Court of Justice in Luxembourg

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News in brief

Rightwinger attacks Tokyo parliament

AN EXTREME rightwinger crashed a bus loaded with cans of petrol into the entrance gate of the Japanese parliament yesterday...

Greek cabinet named

GREECE'S new socialist cabinet was named yesterday by the prime minister, Costas Simitis, the reform-minded technocrat who was elected three days ago to replace Andreas Papandreu...

Tension erupts in Bahrain

SHIITE Muslims in the Bahraini capital Manama staged anti-government protests on Saturday night in defiance of a warning that the armed forces might intervene to stop the unrest...

No rescue plan for hostages

INDONESIA'S army does not plan to use force to free 14 hostages including four Britons who are being held by separatists in the province of Irian Jaya even if a deadline for their release passes...

New president-elect faces heavy pressure to amend the PLO charter under the self-rule agreement

Israel tests Arafat's word

Devek Brown in Jerusalem

EVEN before all the votes were counted, Yasser Arafat, the Palestinian president-elect, was under heavy Israeli pressure yesterday to make good his promise to amend the Palestine Liberation Organisation charter...

branches of what is euphemistically known as the Palestine Police, and neither the chaotic judicial system nor the licks-pittie Palestinian press are capable of curbing abuses of power...

Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, George Habash, of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and others high on Israel's wanted list...

Such leaders, who strongly oppose the self-rule accords, are unlikely to accept Israeli assurances of safe passage...

There will be many limitations on the council's powers. It will not, for example, be able to formulate or execute a foreign policy...

Twenty per cent of the executive can be appointed directly by Mr Arafat from outside the council, but the non-elected members will not be able to vote. The executive, which will effectively be the government, can be dismissed by a no-confidence resolution of the council...



Smoked out... Fireworks explode over Mt Wakakusa during last night's annual turf-burning ceremony in the ancient capital of Nara, western Japan. The tradition began 400 years ago to control pests on the mountain, but is now a tourist event. The pagoda of the Kokukoji Temple is silhouetted against the flame



HAITI'S president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, married Mildred Trouillot, a New York-born Haitian lawyer, on Saturday in a simple ceremony before at least 500 guests...

'Cruel' body blow to French

THE Body Shop has been found guilty of cruelty to the French language by selling products labeled in English. In the first court case using French language-cleansing legislation...

Bikes take the high road

TWO "bicycle highways" are to be built across Paris in response to a surge in cycling since the transport strike. The mayor, Jean Tiéber, announced at the weekend that the city would spend 80 million francs over five years to build two routes...

The regime of General Sani Abacha remains a grand bewilderment in its incredible hostility and contempt for civil order.

Media G2 page 8

Green threat unnerves Clinton

Martin Walker in Washington

A TREMOR of alarm is running through the White House after the decision by Ralph Nader, the veteran consumer-rights advocate, to challenge President Bill Clinton from the left as a Green Party candidate...

The ascetic Mr Nader, who will be 62 next month and is still conducting the long crusade against corporate wrongdoing which he began 30 years ago, is a passionate critic of Mr Clinton's policies on free trade...

national name recognition, people already know what I stand for, and as media are good about giving me access, I think that will be sufficient to get this movement going...

Minnesota, Pennsylvania — which could drain votes, activists and resources from the Democrats nationally...

Top marks go to Soweto school

Chris McGreal in Soweto

THE young men lounging outside the gates of Soweto's Reasona High School have nicknamed it Robben Island after Nelson Mandela's prison home...

schools on punctuality and uniform. I had one kid who left because he said we were too strict. Within a month he was back saying he'd had enough of freedom...

A miracle of survival in Mexico City

Phil Gannon in Mexico City

IF YOU were planning the world's biggest city, you would be unlikely to place it 7,400 feet above sea level in an earthquake zone — especially if you had to build on the clay of an old lake bed beside an active volcano...

Authorities said this week-end that anti-smog measures barring half the capital's 3.5 million cars from the roads would be extended into Sunday because of high ozone levels...

Jobs, however, have not followed the people, and commuting is a daily nightmare for many. Sofia's husband sets off at 6am for the two-hour journey into the centre of town to work as a security guard...

more vulnerable to earthquake damage, experts say. There are 1,400 "high risk" factories and more than 900 producing toxic waste. Each day, 8,500 vehicles with toxic materials travel the streets...

ST. JOSEPH'S HOSPICE MARE ST. LONDON E8 4SA. Dear Anonymous Friends. You did not wish your gifts to be spoiled by human words of thanks. Their value gleams in the untold relief you silently provide.

Harriet's right to choose

But her reasons are all wrong

THERE is a simple test to gauge the quality of state schools: do they generate a conflict for progressive politicians between their loyalty to their party's principles and their loyalty to their children's best interests? Clearly, for Conservative ministers there is no such conflict. At the last count only 12 out of 56 children of Cabinet ministers had gone to state schools. Worse still, at secondary level only three out of 23 Cabinet ministers had used a state secondary for their children. Labour is different. Virtually all Labour MPs use state schools. But that is not enough. Within the state system there are schools which Labour opposed: opted-out grant-maintained schools which the party initially opposed but would now allow to continue without their perks; and grammar schools based on selection at 11, which Labour has long opposed. Hence, as Tony Blair and Harriet Harman have found to their cost, selecting the politically-incorrect school creates enormous political fuss. Ms Harman was already under a cloud for choosing the same grant-maintained school — the London Oratory — as Tony Blair for one of her children. Now she is in even worse odour for sending her next child to an even more incorrect school: a highly selective boys' grammar in Kent.

Ms Harman has defended her decision on the grounds that the primary school which her son in Dulwich attends sends many of its pupils to this grammar school. Clearly her 11-year-old son has an academic bent. He was one of 700 applicants and finished in the top 90. In the words of Ms Harman: "Any child in Southwark can apply, many go and admission is irrespective of money or who their parents are." Moreover, she claims there has long been a tradition for "for parents in inner London to send their children to schools in outer London boroughs." There will be some sympathy for Ms Harman's dilemma: should she really have to tell her son he can't go to the same school as his classmates because this would harm her political reputation? Won't she get more public approval by putting her son's interests before her political interests in refusing to send her son to the local school? But it is not that easy. Ms Harman is a leading shadow minister in a party committed to ending selection at 11. This pledge is repeated unequivocally at several points in the party's white paper, Diversity And Excellence, published last year, and was reinforced by her shadow cabinet colleague, David Blunkett, at the last Labour conference: "Read my lips. No selection, either by examination or interview under a Labour government." Within the party, Ms Harman's decision is causing a furor. The chairman of the parliamentary party's education committee has resigned. Shadow ministers are furious.

Where Ms Harman has gone wrong is in not being blunt enough about the state of education in Southwark. Her nearest secondary schools have abysmal education records: in one, a mere six per cent achieve five GCSEs at grades A to C (the old GCE passmark) and in the other only 11 per cent. What Ms Harman should quote is Diversity And Excellence: "We will not tolerate failure, nor will we condone incompetence." She might even quote her leader at the launch of this document: "Labour will sweep away the second rate... and root out under-achievement in our schools." So rather than talking about the traditional school travel routes, which are questionable, Ms Harman should be more honest and simply say she will not send her children to the local schools until they achieve excellence.

Backing Boris

The West must keep its nerve on Russia

WILL BORIS Yeltsin go down like his predecessor Mikhail Gorbachev? Unhappily this has become a legitimate question. In Russia, as well as abroad, there is growing concern over the direction of Russian politics and policies. Yeltsin is confronted by a parliament packed with political opponents. The military drive to quell the Chechen rebellion has backfired, and the latest operation in Pervomayskaya, far from the glorious victory that Yeltsin has claimed, was a shaming, botched affair that showed up the incompetence of Russia's armed forces. Yeltsin, flailing out to remain a credible candidate for next year's presidential election, is now widely perceived as a turn-coat, no longer a champion of reform and democracy and instead a champion of Russian nationalism.

Many of his actions seem like a replay of recent history, recalling Gorbachev's flawed tactics to remain in the Kremlin. Like Gorbachev, Yeltsin's response to critics has been to sack the reformers and surround himself with hardliners. Like Gorbachev, who sent troops into the Baltic republics in his vain attempt to prevent the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Yeltsin opted for war against Chechnya as a deterrent against an eventual break-up of the Russian Federation. And like Gorbachev, who drove his pro-Western Foreign Minister, Eduard Shevardnadze into resignation, Yeltsin rid himself of Andre Kozyrev, replacing him with Yevgeny Primakov, who can be counted on to pursue a more assertive and antagonistic foreign policy.

The dilemma confronting Western governments is great: they distrust today's Yeltsin; they are deeply uneasy about the Communist party's electoral success, and they see little prospect of unity among Russia's liberals to field a credible presidential candidate capable of winning popular support to restore the Mafia-flawed reform course. The West plainly has very little influence on political developments in Russia. But it must speak and act with caution and refrain from driving Moscow into isolation. Attempts to slow down dialogue, or put on hold Russia's integration into the web of international institutions, would only make Russia more resentful and less cooperative. Nor is this the time for Nato to encourage the enlargement of Nato into Eastern Europe; such tactics would only aggravate tensions with Moscow. One of the few areas where politicians across the political spectrum support Yeltsin is his claim that such moves would pose a threat to Russia's security. The Allies must not be lulled into complacency on the enlargement issue just because a small Russian contingent is now closely cooperating in Bosnia with US forces linked to Nato's I-For command. Russian involvement in the implementation of the Dayton accords must be encouraged, but will only be maintained if Yeltsin remains persuaded that Russia's vital interests are respected.



Letters to the Editor

A parent's lot is not a happy one

HARRIET Harman and Jack Dromey have shown a fundamental misunderstanding of comprehensive education common to many who, no doubt with the best intentions, opt for selectivity as "the best for their children". As a teacher, I have never known an able child with supportive parents or guardians fail to achieve academically in my mixed-ability, non-selective, comprehensive secondary school. What I have seen however, and continue to see daily, is something which the Blair and Dromey-Harman children are extremely unlikely ever to witness; children of all abilities, backgrounds, interests, cultures and practical knowledge benefiting from shared learning. The children of families who support and enhance their school learning have so much to offer and gain from those who often do not have these advantages, in a school environment and in their later lives. Jim McGinley, President, The Parents' Association, West Sussex NUT, 103 Drove Crescent, Portlisle, East Sussex BN41 2TB.

THOSE who criticise the decision of Harriet Harman MP and Jack Dromey to send their son to a selective school would do well to consider the reality of life for parents here in south London and, I suspect, in many other parts of the country. For many of us, parental choice means no choice at all. In this borough, most schools have become grant-maintained and their admissions policies often restrict admission to those children who already have brothers or sisters at the school or those who live within a limited radius of it, although some now have places for those with musical or sporting ability. In areas where there are no secondary schools nearby, children have to travel to whichever school will accept them and the process of finding such a school is traumatic and soul-destroying, especially if one does not live within any school's catchment area. Leonard Blomstrand, 32 Versailles Road, London SE20 8AX.

Letters to the Editor may be faxed on 0171 837 4530 or sent by post to 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER, and by e-mail to letters@guardian.co.uk.

How to spend Aid wisely

WILL HUTTON (Only basket cases need apply, January 17) is right to decry falls in the size of Britain's overseas aid programme; and correct in his analysis that a rising share of aid channelled through the EU threatens the critical mass of British bilateral aid. However, it is a mistake to believe that greater concentration on a smaller number of countries is necessarily a betrayal of past principles or a misguided policy for the future.

The fact is that British aid is pulled every which way by political and commercial pressures. In 1977, there were 124 recipient countries; by 1982, this had risen to 130; and in 1984, the number was over 160, including many new recipients in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. No bilateral aid programme is big enough to make a substantial impact in this number of countries. It is a post-colonial delusion to think that British aid must be "comprehensive".

As far back as 1982, the Independent Group on British Aid, in Real Aid: A Strategy For Britain, suggested that the top 15 poor recipients should receive perhaps nine-tenths of total bilateral aid. This is a

target even fiercer than the one espoused by ODA's Fundamental Review. But it is not out of line with the practice of other major donors, including the Scandinavians and the Dutch. Nor would such a programme, in Will Hutton's words, "become little more than poverty relief and technical assistance for basket cases". India, Bangladesh, Uganda, Ethiopia, and other poor countries are not "basket cases". They are countries where British and other aid has a proven track record in saving lives and in helping poor people to secure sustainable livelihoods.

That's what British aid claims to be about. It needs more money and a greater concentration of resources. Simon Maxwell, Fellow, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.

YOUR editorial (Overseas aid to be slashed, January 17) refers to a November 1985 recommendation by the FEI that the Government should leave the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation "unless pressure from the developed world forces

Don't send us naked into the inter-governmental conference

THE GOVERNMENT'S decision to publish a white paper on their approach to the Inter-Governmental Conference is welcome only if it does not tie the hands of Britain's negotiators in advance. If it is a restatement of David Davis's position at the Reflection Group then it will become a charter for isolation. Mr Davis was in a minority of one on most of the issues which will be discussed at the IGC. It is now imperative that the Government take a more open stance, leaving options available on key issues, otherwise Britain will start the IGC with no credibility. The white paper needs to take account of the balance of opinion within the EU, and the good arguments put forward in the Reflection Group's report.

There are cogent, sensible arguments for reform in a number of areas which will be discussed at the IGC. For example, it would be absurd to rule out in advance the extension of qualified majority voting to research. As the community gets larger, so does the possibility of policy-making in this uncontroversial, but highly important, area — becoming hamstringing

On yer bike

YOUR leader (Cars in need of a service, January 18) regarding future powered-transport requirements, identified the need for a "light, energy-efficient one-seater occupying half of the present road width for commuting". Strangely enough, these futuristic devices are available and are called motorcycles.

Thank you, you have cheered me up immensely. I've always thought they were an excellent idea. C Bayliss, 57 Beaconsfield Road, London N11 3AA.



No metering of minds

IAN AITKEN (Rattling the bars, January 13) was unwise to risk showing his ignorance in criticising the BBC for mispronouncing the European measure of distance. As any etymological dictionary will have told him, the word kilometre is derived from the Greek *chiOmetra*, and the accent is most definitely on the second syllable. The Italians correctly follow suit, pronouncing it *chiOmetre* too. The French, actually, put the slight emphasis on the third syllable in their word *kilometre*. So far from being an American usage, *kiLOmetre* is simply being true to the origins of the word. Would

Mr Aitken perhaps have us all saying SPAGHETTI? Ruth Baker, 14 Burghley Road, Bristol BS6 5BN.

IAN Aitken is right to correct the pronunciation of kilometre. The emphasis of metric definitions must always be on the first syllable in order to follow the Greek origins of the prefixes. After all, we do not pronounce centimetre as centimetre or millimetre as millimetre. Canon Edwin Morris, Rector of the City of Bristol, The Rector's Room, St Stephen's Street, Bristol BS1 1BQ.

Traveller's tale

HAVING just returned from updating the Lonely Planet guide to Turkey, I was surprised to read the account of being held hostage in Turkey in your article describing the dangers of independent travel for lone women (Danger zones, G2, January 16). Although it didn't say where the writer, Jo, was travelling, it was clear that it was in the south-east, where security conditions do indeed amount to a "war zone" as anyone who had done their homework would have known.

The current edition of Lonely Planet Turkey contains a warning against visiting the south-east and advises anyone who still does to "travel only during daylight hours". People who choose to ignore such warnings surely do so at their own peril. Your average visitor to Turkey is most unlikely to be taken hostage. I would be sorry if anyone was put off visiting such a truly hospitable country because of something so atypical. Fat Yale, 18 Hawthorne Street, Tottenham, Bristol, BS4 3DD.

A Country Diary

THE LAKE DISTRICT: The pleasantly-winding pavement — new to me — that nowadays takes much of the sting out of the steep, 900-foot ascent of Dale Head from Dalehead Tarn has been my only discovery, so far, this year. Otherwise, it has been largely a progression of wet, gloomy days with disappointing views and little incentive for the elderly to get out. Some comfort, however, has been provided by a study of my mountain diary, which shows that I enjoyed no fewer than 78 full days in 1995 — three every fortnight — although I was off the hills, for one reason or another, for nearly two months. I see that the last time when I completed 100 outings in a year was 1977 when I revisited all the two-thousanders in Lakeland during the early summer and fitted in a lot of climbing and skiing — now, regrettably, beyond me. In the winter, last year's diary shows I am now merely a fine-weather mountaineer — only going out on the good days — and hardly even that since my "mountaineering"

these days is, mostly, simple pedestrianism. In old age I find I need targets to get me going — most recently, helping my partner to complete her 200 Lakeland two-thousanders, or getting round modest rounds within a certain time. Indeed, I now have my own private records for all sorts of ascents and circumnavigations so that I can immediately assess, after an outing, whether I am fit or sickening for something. One rewarding ploy during last summer was to eschew crowded Lakeland for a while and, after a close study of maps and the discovery that there are exactly 49 two-thousanders in Yorkshire, climbing them all. A wonderful change, after the stony trails of Lakeland, to tread grassy paths once again. I have now identified exactly 30 Cumbrian summits outside the Lake District National Park — many near the Durham boundary — that are above this figure and we are now ticking these off. Probably, I'm going senile in my old age. A HARRY GRIFFIN

An education prize just waiting to be won

Endpiece

Roy Hattersley

LATER today, the House of Commons will debate the Nursery Education and Grant Maintained Schools Bill — a measure which, three months ago, seemed likely to provoke the session's most passionate argument between (and perhaps within) the parties. It would be wrong to anticipate an anti-climax. And the House will still divide. But the Bill is not what, last autumn, we were encouraged to expect. Since our expectations were encouraged by the Prime Minister, it may be that the surprising omissions have a greater political significance than anything that Gillian Shephard proposes this afternoon. Six of the Bill's seven operative clauses concern nursery education. But the voucher scheme — designed to create the illusion of universal pre-

school education — can, apparently, be introduced without new legislation. Indeed, the pilot programme is already underway — part of it in Norfolk, where the rules have been bent to remedy what that county's chief education officer calls "dismally low nursery provision". So Parliament will only debate what the Bill's long title describes as "making grants". Whatever the constitutional historians say about government being constrained by the Commons's consent of "supply", disagreements about methods of payment are rarely as fierce as disputes about the application of principle. In any case, the ideological battle, which we all anticipated, was to be fought over grant-maintained schools — a subject which occupies one clause in the Bill. And all that the solitary section six contains is authority for GM governors to mortgage their land and buildings — an option which, according to the Times Education Supplement, the overwhelming majority of

them do not intend to take up. So we are still left with a question for John Major. What happened to the policy which he set out in Birmingham on September 12, 1987? The Birmingham speech was delivered to the Grant Maintained Schools Foundation. So we should not be surprised that an insecure Prime Minister — with no fixed abode anywhere on the spectrum of Conservative politics — attempted to curry favour with his audience by telling them what they wanted to hear. But John Major could have limited himself to the usual embarrassing clichés ("the quality and reputation of our education is important") and the literary howlers which have now become his trademark. It was in the Birmingham speech that he spoke of the child with "shining morning face", without apparently realising that when Shakespeare invented the phrase, he applied it to a boy who went "unwillingly to school". In short, the Prime Minister could have been his usual in-

adequate self. Instead, he tried to be imaginative and, as a result, made promises which he has not been able to keep. One promise was summarised in Downing Street's clarification of the Birmingham speech as "legislation to allow a fast track to self-governing status for church schools next session." Next session, not when Joanna Southgate opens her box, or when Good Friday falls on Shrove Tuesday. In the text itself — deeply buried under the Prime Minister's inimitable syntax — was the announcement that legislation would be introduced to allow church schools to become grant-maintained without consulting the parents whose children they educate. So much for parental choice. Indeed, so much for the participating democracy in which John Major professes to believe. So much too, for the Prime Minister's judgment. For the church schools would not, and will not, impose Tory prejudices on their schools. I do not refer to that remarkable rebuff in order to draw renewed attention to an-

other of the Prime Minister's humiliations. They are now so frequent that one more or less makes very little difference. What is important about the Church's refusal to do the Government's bidding is the reason for their rejection of the plan. They know that most parents with pupils in their schools do not like the grant-maintained system. That is hardly surprising. Most parents, in all sorts of schools, do not like it. That is why — despite all the blackmail and bullying — so few GM schools have been created. The idea is the great failure of Tory education policy and John Major's aspiration to make the "independent" status universal is, unless he imposes it by edict, as likely to be achieved as a united Conservative Party under his leadership. If he doubts it, he has only to ask John Redwood who insists that "We're not going to have a significant minority of GM schools, let alone a majority". When Mr Redwood — the advocate of the multi-tap kitchen, connected to competi-

tive water supplies — believes a policy to be unrealistic, few people will argue with him. In fact, the parents of this country are wiser than John Major knows. Most of them realise the dangers of a divided education system. Because they have worked out what the Prime Minister seems unable to understand, if schools are organised in some sort of hierarchy, most pupils are automatically allocated to institutions which are labelled as inferior. That is the reason why, 30 years ago, the revolt against secondary selection began in the prosperous suburbs. It was the middle classes who realised that if 10 or 15 per cent of their children were found places in something better, many of their sons and daughters would be amongst the 85 or 90 per cent who were allocated to something worse. Even the electoral arithmetic is on the side of a genuine and complete comprehensive system. The prize is there, waiting to be claimed by a Labour Party that is bold enough to grasp it.

سكا ن الاول



Jerusalem Diary

Derek Brown

EX-PATS in the bureaucracy. One of the defences we build against going native, is the ritual rubbishing of local regulation. In the sub-continent, we appealed for each other's sympathy with horrific tales of Indian ink-wal-labs, Pakistani pen-pushers, and Bangladeshi babus. In Belgium, there were also some nasty bits with the ticks of the tax office.

It's a one-upman game. If a colleague recounts a ghastly tale of customs clearance in Bogota, the correct response is to know, I know. Indeed, I remember once in Katmandu... Which brings us to the Atair of the Correspondent's Car. An unremarkable car, well maintained and insured, was to be registered for another year. Quick MOT and slip along to the licence office, right? Wrong.

Five hours, it took. Five visits to the licence folk, two trips to the post office, one to the garage, one to the customs building, and lastly, back to the garage to have new number plates made. All in 2,000 including hand-some contribution to taxi driver's pension fund.

The first moment, undoubtedly, was after the First Lady in the licence office consulted the Second Lady about the letter from the Only Lady in the customs building, authorising the extension of registration to 1997. The First Lady thought the six in 1996 looked more like a five. The ensuing debate, spirited and exhaustive, became a conference. Conference resolved, after amendments had been duly considered and the motion composed, that a fact which is sent by the First Lady to the Only Lady, seeking clarification. At which point it was discovered that the fax machine was out of order. A committee was duly formed to receive suggestions, and to give me a can't go on. The memory is too recent, and too painful.

To be fair, Israeli bureaucracy is far from being the worst in the world. That prize was won long ago in three successive years, and is thus held in perpetuity, by the commune of Woluwe St Pierre in Brussels.

But the Israeli version extends far beyond government and the public sector. Not long ago, the telly in the Guardian office in Jerusalem went on the blink. It had to be sent to somewhere in the Hebron area to be repaired. A couple of weeks later there came a high-anxiety call from the company: the work would cost 180 shekels (about £45) and how did I intend to pay? A cheque was implicitly out of the question, several credit cards were tried and found wanting. The suggested solution was wonderfully harrow: they would send a taxi to collect the money. Hebron to Jerusalem and back is a round trip of 300 miles, and that was just the taxi fare. The man with a gleam in his eye, at least 500 shekels.

From a consumer's eye-level, much of Israel's business seems to be conducted on similarly rickety lines. Some traders stubbornly refuse to accept credit cards unless they can bung on five or six per cent to the agreed price of goods to cover the handling charge. Bank service is hideously slow and generally unfriendly.

For all that, the Israeli economy is undeniably booming. With a growth rate of over six per cent, and a huge technological lead over its neighbours, Israel is now understandably tooting itself as the regional economic power. Peace will bring open borders, it is argued, and open borders will bring yet more prosperity.

But there are more barriers to business than mere frontiers. Last week a group of Jewish-American investors lobbied out of the country, disgusted with finance ministry amendments to a planned "free processing zone" — an area within which businesses would pay few taxes, and be subject to little regulation. The free zone would clearly be a nice little earner for investors. It would also, the businessmen say, have created up to 20,000 new jobs, at no cost to the taxpayer, if only the men from the ministry had not interfered.

That is an example of what the new economic orthodoxy argues is the chronic discrimination of the Israeli establishment to deregulate and modernise.

FIRST THEY GOT WESTLAND, NOW THEY'VE GOT BUDGIE.

US TRADING BAIL OUT FRANCE!

On close inspection, dead men do talk

Commentary

Mark Lawson

THERE are two lines of dialogue which almost inevitably appear in early detective books and films. "I want to know everything, including what he had for breakfast", snarls the senior cop, a remark which signals him as ludicrously over-demanding. Meanwhile, in another part of the plot, the villain is warned an intended victim: "Dead men tell no tales".

Time has made both lines anachronistic, for the revelation of a person's previous meals is now routine and dead men do indeed tell tales, both phenomena being a product of modern criminal pathology. The late 20th century has seen three new sciences become unexpectedly popular with the general public: theoretical physics, genetics and now, forensic science. The first tries to tell us how we come to be here, the second what might happen to us while we are around and the third tells us how we might go.

Although it still lacks the individual populariser that physics and genetics have found in Professor Stephen Hawking and Dr Steve Jones, forensic science is currently leaving traces and residues right across our culture.

The most significant newcomer to the Guardian's Top Ten super-sellers in paperback, published on Friday, was Patricia Cornwell, whose novels featuring the Italian-American pathologist, Dr Kay Scarpetta, represent the first challenge to the 1990s primacy of the legal thriller. A five-part factual series about forensic sciences, *Traces Of Guilt*, is running on BBC2 on Thursday, while three fictional series — BBC1's *Dangerfield* and the forthcoming *Silent Witness* and ITV's *McCallum* — hope to do for forensic medicine what *Cracker* spectacularly achieved for forensic psychology.

Whatever financial questions may have been settled by the Maxwell trial, the death of Robert Maxwell will remain for a long time a popular forensic puzzle, the English equivalent of the Kennedy assassination. And, if the OJ Simpson jury failed to be swayed by the forensic evidence against him, polls suggest that a majority of Americans were.

There are two reasons — one visceral, one psychological — why the bullet of forensic science has lodged so firmly in the public brain. Our initial response, in the case of both fictional and fac-

tual variations of the genre, is to the raw power and ingenuity of the stories, the methods by which doctors can now posthumously publish a cadaver's memoirs of his diet, sex life and other recreations.

The BBC series, *Traces Of Guilt*, featured an investigation in which a brilliantly elusive Austrian serial killer was eventually nailed by a single hair from the head of a single victim crumpled beneath the discarded car-seat of a vehicle he once drove. Another of its episodes featured the new blue-light technology, whereby a corpse can be illuminated to show marks and scratches invisible to the naked eye.

One of the Patricia Cornwell books includes the story of a mystery body found outdoors, and finally proved, by a tiny burn mark on the foot, to be the victim of a lightning strike.

A forensic archaeologist, a newish branch of the discipline, proved to the satisfaction of a jury in 1991 that a young boy supposedly killed by a collapsing wall nearly 30 years earlier had in fact been murdered beforehand and placed beneath the rocks.

Such anecdotes are impressive and addictive, but the present obsession with forensic skills reflects a deeper need. The science of posthumous inspection held out a promise that murderers will always be found out, that getting away with it, even after several decades had passed,

would become ever more difficult. Even the most meticulous murderer was likely to leave behind, perhaps in as little as a single hair, evidence of their activities. This moral possibility of justice for all corpses is well caught by Dr William Maples, the celebrated American pathologist, in his memoir, *Dead Men Do Tell Tales*, where he writes: "I have seen the tiny, wispy-thin bones of a murdered infant stand up in court and crush a bold, hardened adult killer."

In the light of such testimonials, it might be tempting to point out that the cult of forensic science was, in effect, a final acknowledgment that the job of policing now involved not crime prevention, a more or less futile aim, but

crime detection. It is the science of a routinely violent age. The political promise of a safe life has given way to a pledge of posthumous justice.

The very language of forensic science — wound pattern analysis, behavioural patterns — was revealing of a desire to impose order on a world of apparently random violence.

It also seems certain that some of the appeal of the discipline is in line with the feeling of the time that we are finally cracking the deepest secrets. Physics promises to unlock the secrets of the cosmos, genetics to tell us why we are fat or gay or homicidal or diabetic, forensics to expose what were once the

'I have seen the tiny, wispy-thin bones of a murdered infant stand up in court and crush a bold adult killer'

'I can remember how, as 11-year-olds, we were called into the school hall and a list was read out of who had passed the exam. When my name was not read out, I ran out of the school gates, home'

A stakehold in exploitation and poverty

Identify a working class. Jersey Seabrook, co-author of *Talking Work* published today by Faber, says that both right and left denigrated the kind of work associated with the traditional working class — the making of durable necessities with a visible function. Because the work was often dirty, dull, dangerous and badly paid, it was viewed with contempt by the middle classes and shame by the workers. With no pride in menial labour everyone wanted to be middle class, so when Britain's productive base was effectively dismantled, for mounted the middle classes and shame by the workers. The consequences of this have been devastating. Whilst the productive base was being dismantled, workers demanded, and were given, the same goods and standards of living as the middle classes. The resources and production to fuel this expanded consumerism had to come from elsewhere. Seabrook says the expansion of the middle classes in Britain was underwritten by expanding the productive base while using the cheap labour and resources of the third world. In other words, the working class hasn't disappeared. It's been exported and globalised. It is black and living in places like Jakarta in conditions worse than anything described by Engels.

BRITAIN has also paid a price. As the middle classes expanded, a large group has been left behind, unable to command higher pay or dual incomes. Women, especially single parents, are disproportionately represented among the poor. But those who have made the shift have access to previously unimaginable goods and entertainments. Seabrook thinks this has "pacified" the working class.

Old Marxists may believe the working class is just a sleeping giant, but the new left understand this giant is now folklore. No one admits there has been a cost — the new order has upped the ante of the world's resources and exploits its poorest peoples.

The West regards its lifestyle as sacrosanct. Bush made this explicit when he told the Rio summit that the American way of life was not up for negotiation. Occasionally the left make bland statements about "polyester clothes" and "beer bellies" made when a Lottery winner and his chums arrived at an upmarket Caribbean resort. Such attitudes reflect a desperate attempt to maintain distinctions, and underlie the growth of top-prep schools aspiring to hermetically sealed, superior worlds.

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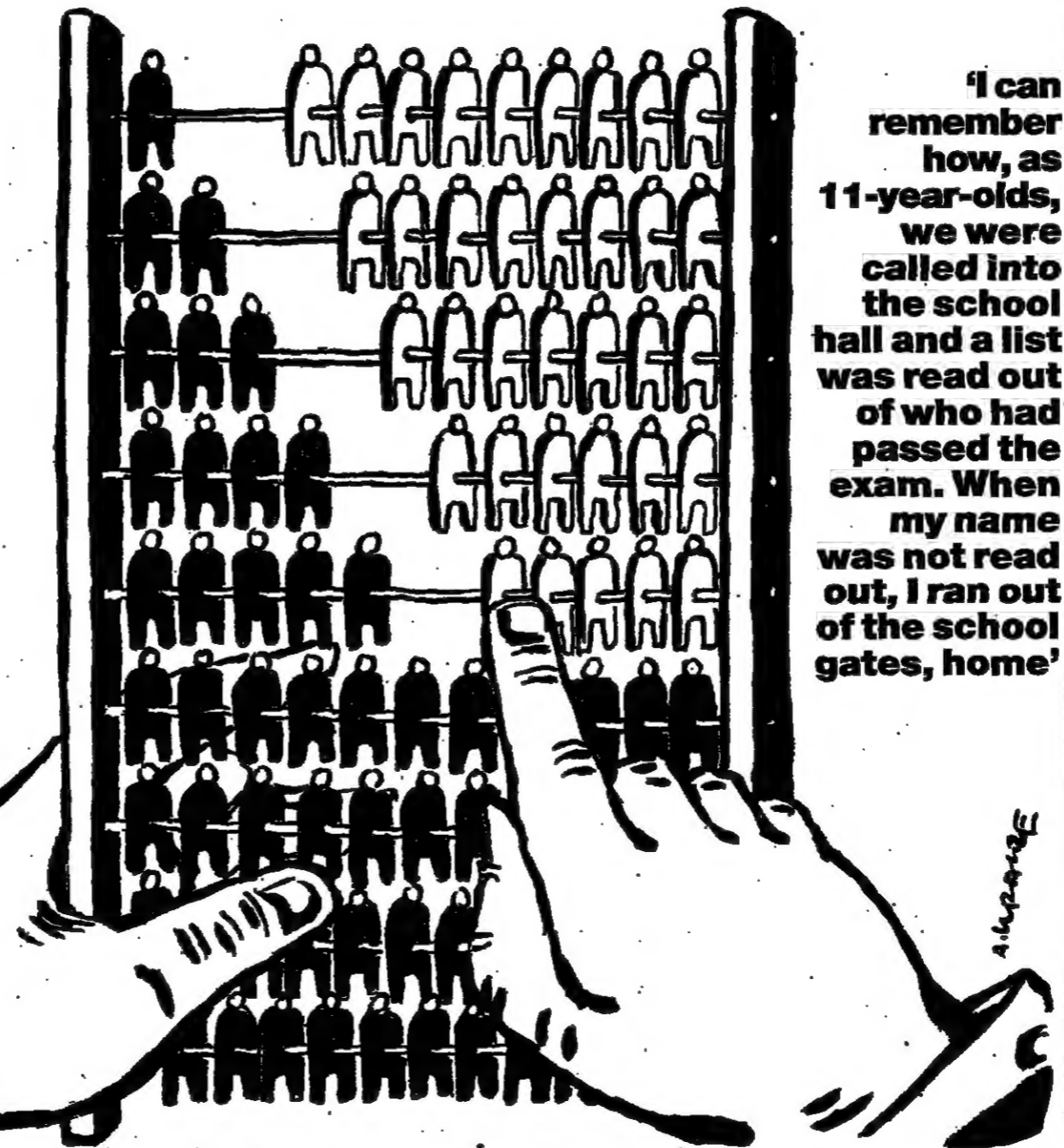
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Comprehensive cant

When Harriet Harman decided to send one of her children to a grant-maintained school, Gerald Steinberg, chair of Labour's education committee, chose to resign in the face of what he terms a hypocritical undermining of party policy



IT WAS with great regret that I felt it necessary to resign as chair of the Parliamentary Labour Party's education committee after hearing that Harriet Harman had decided to send one of her children to a selective, grant-maintained school. It was the only way I could make a small protest on an issue which, to me, is fundamental to the Labour Party. That is the principle of comprehensive, non-selective education.

Harriet, as a senior member of the Labour Party has, in my view, acted with very poor judgment. Her action is in contradiction to Labour party policy and will be seen as hypocritical. As a member of the Shadow Cabinet, she will have endorsed, in the past, Labour's opposition to the concept of selective education which the party recently re-endorsed in Labour's policy document, *Excellence For Everyone*. More recently still, Labour opposed Gillian Shephard's proclamation to allow schools to increase their selective intake of pupils.

member of the Shadow Cabinet ignoring party policy and subscribing to Tory ideology designed to destroy comprehensive education? I will be accused by some of bringing the party into disrepute, but it is not me who has opposed party policy. It should not have been left to me to make this protest; it should never have got this far. Harriet should have discussed the issue with the party leadership and, if her personal preferences were totally incompatible with party policy, she should have resigned her front bench position, thereby not placing the party in such an embarrassing situation.

I feel passionate about the issue of comprehensive education because, as a youngster, I was a product of the 11-plus examination. In 1955, I failed the exam and still today remember the trauma, grief and unhappiness it caused. I can remember how, as 11-year-olds, we were called into the school hall and a list was read out of who had passed the exam. When my name was not read out, I was devastated. I can remember run-

ning out of the school gates, home. Because I had failed the 11-plus, my mother was distraught and I can recall the feeling of failure. It took many years to get over the trauma. I was fortunate to go to a secondary modern school that took GCEs and it was not until I had successfully passed those exams, that the feeling of failure partially disappeared.

ONE of the reasons I joined Labour was because of the principles of comprehensive schools and the principle of equal educational opportunity. This present Tory government is hell-bent on destroying comprehensive schools and introducing a selective system which caters for those that can pay and leaves the majority to sink or swim.

The Tory reforms have been divisive, introducing the free market into education and moving the emphasis towards private provision. The recent introduction of nursery vouchers moves us even further towards privati-

sation. For a senior member of the party to act in this way when comprehensive education is under attack undermines everything that Labour says it stands for, and those who passionately believe that high quality education is for all, not just a small percentage of the elite.

Both my children attended the local comprehensive. These schools were excellent and both children received a first class education. My daughter is now a solicitor and my son is studying law at Cambridge University and is hoping to be a barrister. Not had for a system we are told by the Tories is failing and others see fit to ignore. The Labour Party has a duty to ensure that the principles of comprehensive education are maintained and improved.

Parents want access to a high standard of education for their children, but the Tory philosophy of selection will provide this only for a few. I am not so naive as to believe the comprehensive system is perfect. We must strive to make it attractive for all children, to enable them to see that learning is for life.



us naked into the permanent conference

Diary

o be won

Harold Wolpe

# A plan after apartheid

FIRST met Harold Wolpe, who has died aged 70, at the 1952 conference of the National Union of South African Students. A committed communist, he took what I considered to be a somewhat condescending line towards those of us who professed radical opinions but remained in the ideological dark. We clashed in mutual dislike. But then, in the late 1950s, we came to know each other better, initially drawn together by our shared friendship with Ruth First and Joe Slovo, and by the pleasure that we both took in playing poker. He may not have been the best of players, but then neither was I. He was certainly the sweetest tempered.

In shared exile, we became close friends and were fellow founding trustees of the Ruth First Memorial Trust, which helped to administer the financing of "Research on Education in South Africa". It was Wolpe who not only initiated and directed the project but, year after year, succeeded in finding the funds to keep it going, with most of the money provided by the Swedish government agency, Sarens. Perhaps no greater tribute can be paid him than to recognise this project as the single serious and sustained exercise in the devel-

opment of policy for a post-apartheid South Africa, undertaken during the many years of the ANC's legal existence only in exile. Having graduated as a BA in Social Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1949 and then as an LL.B there in 1952, he practised for some years as a barrister, specialising in political cases, and was working as a solicitor when his own political activities caught up with him. In 1963, an initially undiscovered participant in the Rivonia group, he was arrested while attempting to escape from South Africa. As his wife Anne-Marie has vividly described in her book, *The Long Way Home* (1985), he then escaped from prison and across the border, to become an exile in Britain.

In 1964-65 he was Nutfield Foundation Sociological Scholar at the London School of Economics. He subsequently taught at the then North London Polytechnic, where he led the team that set up a degree course in sociology, and went on to an appointment as Reader in Sociology at the University of Essex, where he was awarded his Ph.D. in 1980.

In 1972, *Economy and Society* published his article, "Capitalism and cheap labour power in South Africa from

segregation to apartheid". Disavowed by some, as more vulgar Marxist analysis, this provided, in fact, an original view of the difference between traditional segregationist policies in South Africa and the specific system of domination and control for exploiting cheap labour, in response to the requirements of capitalism rather than racism, which went under the name of apartheid. Certainly, the article had a lasting influence on many scholars both in South Africa and abroad. His book on *Race, Class, and the Apartheid State* was published in 1968, and he edited two notable books on the past and future of education in South Africa as well as producing numerous papers and articles on various topics.

In late 1980 he returned to South Africa, where he established the Education Policy Unit and became its director. Situated at the University of the Western Cape, the unit earned a considerable reputation for research into policy issues for post-secondary education and conducted a wide range of studies for the ANC, the national government, and other clients. Wolpe was responsible not only for leading the unit but for raising the substantial sums necessary to support its work.

During his years of exile, he came to be increasingly critical of certain theories and analyses espoused by the South African Communist Party and expressed his dissent in closely argued writings. Hard-liners were resentfully unconvinced, and others he expected to side with him did not always do so. He was disappointed but not deterred. Courage was not the least of his qualities. He was generally gentle, but quite capable of anger at stupidity and prejudice. His friends knew his warmth, his wisdom, his wit — seldom, if ever, cruel and his sheer conviction. He was not only stimulating to be with, but fun.

The failure to appoint him as a member of the National Commission on Higher Edu-



Wolpe... transforming South Africa, in exile and back home

PHOTOGRAPH: SUE KRAMER

tion was mysterious and regrettable. In the event, however, as co-ordinator of crucial technical committees and working groups set up by the Commission, he made a decisive contribution to its work. This was exacting, and he gave of himself unstintingly. Producing the final synthesis report on time strained him too far. Four hours after finishing it, he suffered the heart attack from which he never recovered.

In the last talk I had with him, he seemed to share my unease at the somewhat timid economic policy adopted for restructuring the South African society. Had he lived longer, he might well have written on the subject. His death is a great loss to the intellectual vitality of the new South Af-

rica, which needs those whose allegiance involves independence of judgment and the guts to express it. To his many friends, the loss is peculiarly painful.

For his family — Anne-Marie, their son Nicholas, daughters Peia and Tessa, and two grandchildren — there must be some solace in the knowledge not only of how widely he is being mourned and missed but that he made in more than one way a major contribution to the transformation of South Africa.

Ronald Segal

Harold Wolpe, sociologist, lawyer and South African activist, born January 14, 1918; died January 18, 1988

Lord Glendevon

# Grace without the favours

LORD Glendevon, who has died aged 83, took his sacking as Minister for Works in Harold Macmillan's 1962 Night of The Long Knives with typical uncomplaining grace. You learn to smile on adversity from birth if you are a younger son, particularly if you are a younger twin and miss by minutes inheriting the title and substantial estates of the second Marquess of Linlithgow, reformist Viceroy of India (1886-93).

There were compensations for being a younger son. After Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, he had a "good war" in the Scots Guards. He escaped from the Narvik disaster, took part in the Salerno and Monte Cassino battles and helped plan the Anzio landings. His brother, in contrast, was taken prisoner and incarcerated in Colditz.

There were further compensations. He married Elizabeth Maugham, then known as Lisa Parvini, daughter of the irascible author, W Somerset Maugham. Maugham handed over to her his villa at Capri, Ferrat. She then sold it, and she and her two sons survive.

Even before he married, he had been elected as Tory MP for Northern Middleham and Peebles in 1946, under his courtesy title of Lord John Hope. On the Opposition benches he lined up against Winston Churchill's furious rearguard action against Indian independence. Churchill tried to silence him by making him his PPS, but he politely declined. In 1950 he switched seats to Farnham, in Edinburgh. Not long after returned to office in 1951, he became Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs in 1954, at the request of the Foreign Secretary, Sir Anthony Eden.

When Eden became Prime Minister, he switched him to the Commonwealth Office. Harold Macmillan then posted him to the Scottish Office. His competent efficiency and fine architectural taste was finally recognised in 1959 when he became Minister of Works. Then in 1962 he paid the penalty of being one of the quarter of the Cabinet sacrificed by Macmillan to refurbish the image of an increasingly unpopular government. This had been displayed by Labour's victory and the Tories' lost deposit when Tony Blair in June 1963 took West Lothian, where Lord John was brought up in beautiful, Adams-built Hopetoun, on his family's estate.

Even before his contribution was belatedly recognised in 1964 by the title Glendevon, he resumed his directorships at BBT, Colonial Mutual Life and Standard Telephone and Cables. He later became dep-

uty chairman of the Swiss chemical giant Ciba-Geigy. These talents were perhaps hereditary, his family having started as Edinburgh pawnbrokers before turning bankers to the Scottish Establishment.

He took the time to write a nostalgic Viceroy At Bay (1971), a tribute to his increasingly forgotten father, whom he had accompanied to New Delhi.

His own ill-health forced him into exile in Guernsey, from which, in the last few years, he made repeated efforts to return to his seat in the Lords.

In the interim, he turned out forceful letters to the Times and Daily Telegraph. In one he shot down Maurice Cowling's "incredible" claim that the war against Hitler had been unnecessary. "As for Mr Cowling's contention that our entry into the war was responsible for the emas-



Glendevon... man of letters

culcation of the British Empire — this is evidently absurd. India was on the way to independence well before the war, and it was obvious that when India became independent, the colonies would follow.

Although long a supporter of the party's Eden/MacLeod wing, he unexpectedly attacked those who claimed Mrs Thatcher was too confrontational. "There is no politician who would not welcome consensus for his views, if he could get it." This backing for Mrs Thatcher recalled the days when, in the Foreign Office, he had battled against the first signs of European federalism.

His enthusiasm as an amateur painter led to his last great letter last July, in which he unveiled Picasso as a self-confessed "fraud" quoting the painter saying "I am only an amateur public who has understood his time." No one could accuse the late Lord Glendevon of letting down his talents.

Andrew Roth

John Adrian Hope (Lord Glendevon), politician and businessman, born April 7, 1912; died January 17, 1988



Mulligan... bouncy phrases

Gerry Mulligan

# Midwife to the birth of cool

FOR A TIME in the early 1950s Gerry Mulligan, who has died aged 68, led a quartet that caught the public's imagination. He added a Dixieland twist to the modern jazz of the time, while stimulating the pundits by dispensing with piano accompaniment. Mulligan was one of those widely reputed jazz musicians who never tired terribly hard to stay in the limelight. Most of the tunes we remember him by were written before he was 30, but he stayed at the top throughout his career, drawing the crowds, always a pleasure to hear.

He made his mark first as an arranger. Shortly after moving to New York when he was 25, he wrote several pieces for the Gene Krupa orchestra, exciting the bebop firms with his Disc Jockey Jump. His own tastes, though, were reflected more closely in his scores for Claude Thornhill, for whom Gil Evans also wrote, where the seeds of so-called "cool" jazz were sown. When Miles Davis, having cut his teeth with Charlie Parker,

wanted a new kind of group in the late 1940s they helped him work out the details and decide who to use.

The nonet's recorded output stays in the catalogues under the Birth Of The Cool banner. With the exception of Duke Ellington, groups of that size would normally be expected to home in on the more aggressive aspects of jazz.

But Davis thought about creating something relaxed, and he knew exactly where to turn for inspiration. He credited Mulligan for insisting on alto saxophonist Lee Konitz, then little-known outside the Thornhill band, coming in as a member of the group to counter any latent bebop tendencies. Mulligan himself played baritone saxophone with Davis. His arrangements of Jeru, Venus de Milo and Gochchild are now classics.

Mulligan then settled in Los Angeles near the film studios, as did many jazz musicians when the bottom dropped out of the touring market. At that time, only the more dedicated fans had heard of him. Soon, though, he made his first re-

ords with his pianoles quartet and became a household name.

Supported by just bass and drums, which had truly supporting roles, Mulligan and his partner, the then-unknown Chet Baker, would weave enticing counterpoint around the theme statements and each other's solos. The contrast between Mulligan's unique combination of fruity baritone sound and essentially laid-back improvisation and Baker's lyricism on trumpet, regarded by many as a cross between Miles Davis and Bix Beiderbecke, caught the attention of the critics, as did their seemingly telepathic blend.

Such pieces as *Bernie's Tune*, *Line For Lyons* and *Walking Shoes* became part of the jazz repertory and ensured a life for the quartet after Baker's departure, when he was replaced at various times by trumpeter Jon Eardley and valve-trumpetist Bob Brookmeyer. After a few years, Mulligan formed an orchestra built around the same concept — a full sound, harmonic depth and a minimum of screaming brass.

He kept it going for a few years before losing the taste for full-time bandleading. From that point, he never did anything long enough to become boring. Big bands alternated with smaller groups, and he also dabbled occasionally with electric rock. For a while he joined forces with Dave Brubeck, whose own quartet in the 1950s must have seemed like a rival for public attention. He wrote songs with the film star Judy Holiday, to whom he was married for several years.

Mulligan had a big influence on the way people play the baritone, encouraging the bouncy phrases to be lighter and sunnier than the 1930s style, where baritone sax was a loud anchor, or bebop. As a composer, what he had to offer was the impact of the Birth Of The Cool band, which he revived briefly a few years ago, speaks for itself.

Ron Atkins

Gerald Joseph Mulligan, baritone saxophonist and composer, born April 5, 1927; died January 20, 1988

Peter Stadlen

# Pianist on a critical trajectory

PETER Stadlen, the Viennese-born pianist and critic who has died aged 85, progressed — if that's the word — from being a noted pianist to being a noted writer and critic. His independence of mind and persistence of intellect made him an interesting funnel of a composer's ideas in either role.

As a pianist, he was an able exponent of the classics. But it was more important that he specialised with distinction in the works of the so-called Second Viennese School composers who were his elder contemporaries. A true scion of the Jewish intellectual fraternity, he studied piano with

Paul Weingarten and composition with Joseph Marx. Being by nature a thinker's pianist, he also did philosophy at Vienna University and took himself for four years to Berlin for yet further studies. Launched in 1934 he immediately became a formidable interpreter of Webern and Schoenberg.

In 1937 he both gave the premiere of Webern's *Op 27 Variations* at the Venice Biennale and directed Schoenberg's *Op 29 Suite* from the keyboard. Escaping to Britain, he was a favoured recitalist during the war at the National Gallery concerts, notably in Beetho-

ven. The Second Viennese School was then a closed book to British audiences, but Stadlen introduced some Schoenberg and Webern to a wider public here. He readily mastered the intricacies of Schoenberg's *Concerto* — then one of the most daunting pieces in the piano repertoire. He revelled in the oblique, black humour of Pierrrot Lumaire on the South Bank in the early 1930s, and (in Vienna in 1947) premiered Hindemith's *Four Temperaments* and Konzeptsmusik with the composer conducting. Proselytising on behalf of the innovators, he took charge of a master class in modern music at the Darm-

stadt Summer School from 1947 to 1951. But he had already begun to carve out a new career for himself as a seriously intellectual writer and broadcaster.

In 1939 he became a critic on the Daily Telegraph under the aegis of his friend Martin Cooper, then chief music critic on the paper. Almost at once he gave up his career at the keyboard and never played again in public, except when he gave a broadcast about Webern's piano music. He never revealed why he had so suddenly retired.

At about the same time (1960) he startlingly turned against serialism, expanding on his views in lectures at the British Institute of Recorded Sound, now the National Sound Archive. He also made an extensive study of the significance of the metronome in Beethoven's music, producing much original research in that minefield of a subject. On one occasion he caused consternation in a BBC studio when he appeared with a mass of documents and a formidable array of illustrations.

In 1977, already 65, he became chief music critic on the retirement of Cooper. He continued in the post until 1986, when he decided to leave just as Conrad Black was taking over the paper. Maybe he instinctively realised his kind of writing would no longer find favour.

As a critic, Stadlen had a highly individual, on occasion impenetrable style that married intellectual precision

and caustic comment with a ready wit that sometimes bordered on the facetious. His way of approaching a subject from a tangent was also a feature of his conversation, which continued to be graced by a thick Viennese accent. Although his meaning could be obscure, what he had to say was to the point and thought-provoking. His search for accuracy of interpretation on any disputed matter would lead him to seek out an artist after a concert to discover why he or she had followed a particular course.

He was a fair but infuriating colleague, unable to make up his mind until an impossibly late date what event he considered most important for him to cover. He always believed in what he called "using the civil service" which in practice meant sending secretaries frantically in search of obscure scores in

music libraries or from publishers. He was a regular visitor to major festivals, in his element at Salzburg in his native Austria. After his retirement he continued to attend practically every important musical event in London, tirelessly enthusiastic and inquisitive to the end.

It is a sadness that he never wrote what would have been his fascinating memoirs, as his spoken thoughts on his early days in Vienna were of historic interest.

He and his wife Hedi, a distant relative of Johann Strauss, were inseparable companions, and she gave him inestimable support in his work and at home. They had two sons.

Alan Blyth

Peter Stadlen, pianist and critic, born July 14, 1910; died January 20, 1988

Jackdaw



Taboo material

WHEN YOU are raised to believe that anything having to do with sex is forbidden, then of course that's all you want to know about. That becomes your complete and utter fascination. That is the surest way to influence a child. If you say to them, "You can't go in that room," they're going to go in the room. And that's what Catholicism does. But at the same time, it's because it's full of so much angst and sin — and attention on sin and what's forbidden — that it also is a really mesmerising religion. There's so much ritual and pomp and circum-

stance involved in it. I was hugely influenced by it. I was so eager to lose my virginity, simply because I was told so often that it was the most sinful thing you could do.

I was really influenced artistically, too. Catholicism is a very masochistic religion, and I grew up with a mother who was devoutly Catholic and I saw her doing things that really affected me. She would kneel on uncooked rice and pray during Lent. I mean, she would sleep on wire hangers. She was passionately religious. Swooning with it. If my aunt came over to the house, and had jeans that zipped up the front, my mother covered all the statues. Turned the holy pictures to the wall... I somehow equate God and religion and sacrifice with taboo and sexuality. All of those things are sort of mixed up in a stew for me.

When I went to Catholic school, you had to go to church before school. And on Sunday you couldn't eat before you went to church and you're practically faint-

ing because your blood-sugar level was so low. I mean, just all of those things, the sacrifice and the discipline, between that and my training as a dancer, that discipline has absolutely fuelled me and given me a kind of resilience that I don't think a lot of other entertainers have.

In Catholicism, suffering is good. So if you're fed a steady diet of "suffering is good," then when you're suffering you can deal with it... It got me through a lot of things. It made me stay in New York when I went there as a teenager, and I didn't know a soul. It kept me going. Even if I don't believe it, my father raised me to believe that if you're suffering, you're doing something right.

My older brothers were incredibly rebellious, they got into drugs and trouble with the police. One of my brothers ran off and became a Moonie and the other one joined the army. I became an over-achiever. I had it programmed in my mind — "I don't care if I have to live on the street, and I don't care if I have to eat garbage, I'll do it."

I probably suffered unnecessarily, but somehow, unconsciously, my father saying that made me not want to give up.

Catholicism is what I was raised with, that's the religion I know, but I disagree with almost every principle of it. If I ever got into a room with the Pope, I would probably fly into a rage with him. All of this adulation, I don't think people realise what he's actually saying. I mean, women have literally, absolutely, no rights in the Church. There is no freedom, there's no choice.

I know a lot of Catholics who go to church, who practice, but they don't agree with three fourths of it. But it's good to have faith, and I love going to church, I don't necessarily like going to mass, but I do love going to church. Madonna, interviewed by Bob Guccione Jr for his magazine, *Spin*.

Party game

FOR POLITICALLY knowledgeable readers of Tribune,

a variation on the old parlour game naming five famous Belgians may be appropriate in these politically correct times. Even more obscurely, why not try "name five socialist societies affiliated to the Labour Party"?

It is hours of fun. It starts off quite easy. There is the Fabians and bits of the Co-op and... err... that's about it. A few teachers may venture the Socialist Education Association, solicitors, likewise, the Society of Labour Lawyers. Generally, however, the profile of the socialist societies in the party is about as high as Peter Lilley's charisma rating.

David Cairns poses a seemingly impossible question in *Tribune* before revealing that there are 13 such societies affiliated to the Labour Party.

Coming soon

THANK God It's Friday the 13th. GRUMPY Old Menace II Society. THE Incredible Shrinking Man Who Shot Liberty Valance.

REFER Madness Of King George. FAR From Home: The Adventures Of Yellow Dog Day Afternoon. 176 Degrees Of Separation. Results from Premier's initiative to its readers to create a merged movie.

Tant pis

WE ARE inclined to see Sartre as he saw himself, a man who stood at odds to his world, whose identity was shaped by an ever-greater distance between conventional practices and his own polemical stance. It is certainly true that Sartre lived unconventionally, and that he was unusual in growing ostensibly more radical with age, at least until his last, confused years. But there was always a certain quality to Sartre's form of oppositional engagement. Until 1945, he was indistinguishable from the majority of his countrymen, whether in his political opinions (in so far as he had them) or in his public actions; even his philosophical inclinations were more like those of his idealist Sorbonne professors than he might have liked to admit. And once he did begin to carve out a distinctive public role, it was comfortably conventional — for his generation and for his time.



Premier... double vision

This is illustrated by his leading position in the ranks of French postion-signers during the 1950s and 60s, outdoing even de Beauvoir... In Camus's words, Sartre placed his armchair in the direction history was going. It is for this reason, despite

the importance of his writings and the seductive charm of his native talents, that he is now in eclipse. There is something very Fourth Republic about him, the air of a France whose passing we may regret but which is gone for good. Sartre did not understand that change — he took very little interest in what was actually happening to France in those years — but in that respect too he was typical of many of his fellow intellectuals. His thought may have aspired to the universal, but it is those same universalist aspirations that now appear provincial.

Tony Judt considers the merits of Jean-Paul Sartre in his review for the *Times Literary Supplement* of *Deux Intellectuels Dans le Siecle*: Sartre et Aron (Payot).

Jackdaw wants your jewels. E-mail jackdaw@guardian.co.uk. Fax 0171-733 3368. Jackdaw, The Guardian, 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER.

Birthdays

Hayley Bell, playwright, 85; Nigel Benn, boxer, 32; John Barr, actor, 56; Piper Laurie, actress, 64; Liz Lynne, Liberal Democrat MP, 48; Nyree Dawn Porter, actress, 60; Sir Alf Ramsey, former soccer manager, 76; Nadine Tayner, agony aunt, 65; Gillian Shephard MP, Secretary of State for Education and Employment, 56; Michael Spicer, Conservative MP, 53; Francis Wain, biographer and columnist, 38.

Death Notices

GARROLD, Theresa. The Theresa Garrold, on 18th January aged 82. Funeral service at 11.30am on Sunday 24th February at St. Peter's Church, 119 Farringdon Road, London. E-mail: info@placeyourannouncement.com 0171 611 9000

Peter Stadlen, pianist and critic, born July 14, 1910; died January 20, 1988

John Adrian Hope (Lord Glendevon), politician and businessman, born April 7, 1912; died January 17, 1988

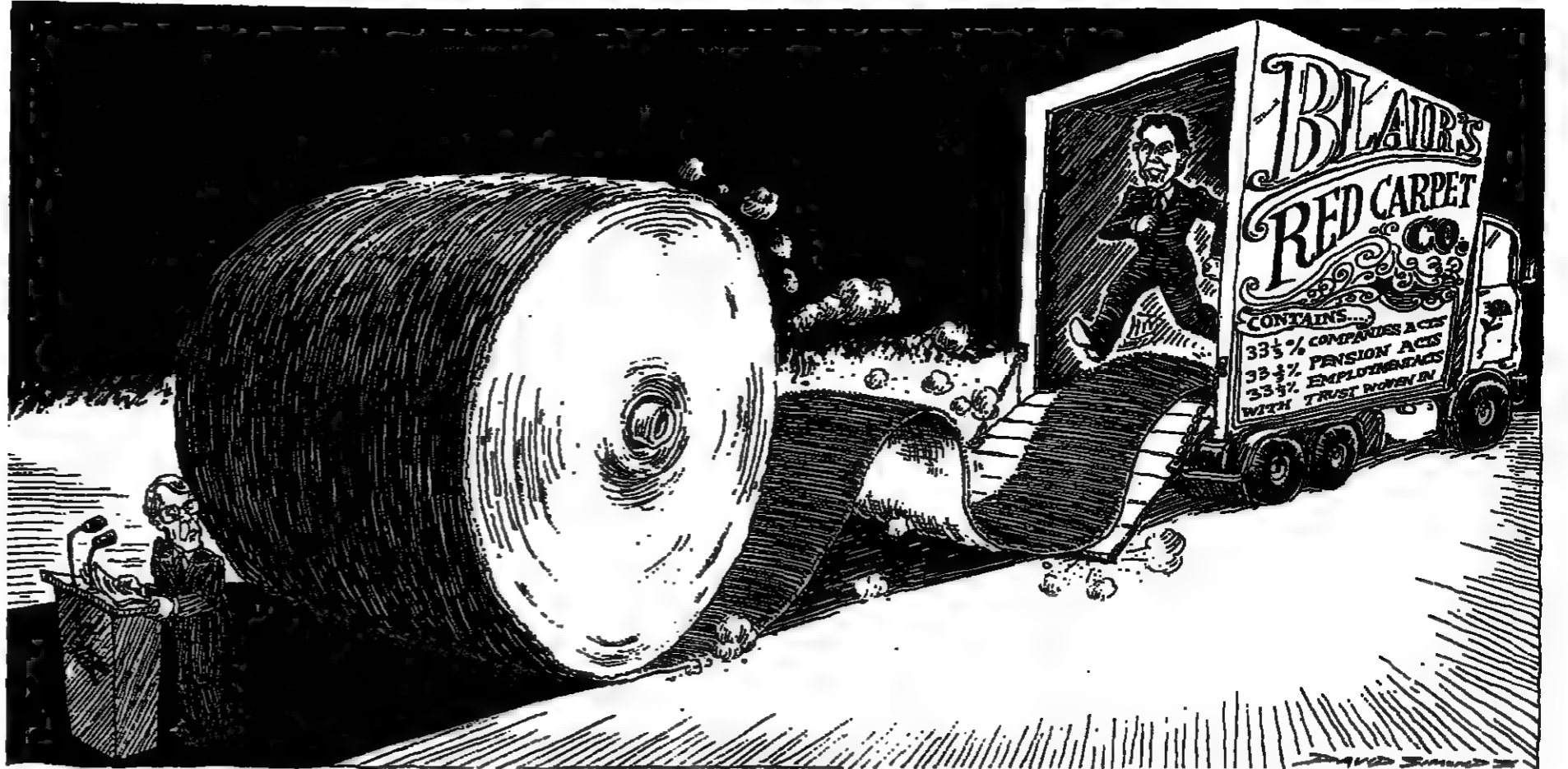
Dan Glaister

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Monday January 22 1996

Government practice, in spite of Tory theories, has increased state regulation. Blair could continue the trend with a Companies Act

# Time for Labour to put some spine into its stakeholding idea



Will Hutton

**C**HANGES of government in ideas go hand in hand. The outgoing administration loses internal coherence as it battles to marry incoming ideas with its outdated programmes and rusted ideological anchors. The opposition gains in confidence and coherence. We saw it happening in the late 1970s with the rise in monetarism. In the mid-1990s it could be happening again with stakeholding. For it was not the Thatcherites who launched British-style monetarism as they entered office in 1979. It was

the Labour Chancellor, Denis Healey, who, after the 1978 IMF crisis, began focusing policy on lowering the public sector borrowing requirement, targeting money supply growth and lifting exchange and credit controls. The intellectual climate had been changing for three years before Mrs Thatcher took office. This, as much as her political prowess, laid the foundations of her success. Historians will make similar remarks about the years up to 1996-97. British business and the unions have themselves begun the move towards stakeholding as a principle of company relations. It was The Tomorrow's Company Inquiry, published by the Royal Society of Arts in 1995 and backed by leading British companies, that first set out the merits of organising a company as an inclusive social entity, to maximise creativity and trust. The job of a board is not to act exclusively as the agents of the shareholders, the report said; it is to act

more as the long-term trustees of the business, furthering its productive capacity, reputation and the skills of its workforce and suppliers. Furthermore, Sir Adrian Cadbury (over the constitution of company boards) and Sir Richard Greenbury (over executive pay) have chaired committees that developed voluntary codes which, whatever their compromises and shortcomings, begin to uphold elements of the stakeholding notion. Long-term corporate success is a more subtle business than simply maximising shareholder value. There is a wider public interest to be protected. Best if it is voluntary — but most know that legislation will ultimately be needed. Which is a process that has been started by the Conservatives. Although Messrs Major, Mawhinney, Heseltine et al react with horror over the danger of introducing legislation into company-investor-employee relations — which should all be voluntary

according to Conservative theory — in practice their government has led the way in passing such laws. The most closely regulated institution is the trade union. With nine Employment Acts, successive ministers have taken the law into industrial relations and this voluntarily established economic institution. But the pressure of events has also forced ministers to extend the arm of the law into the regulation of the City, privatised utilities, pensions and even the heartland of capitalism — the firm. **T**HE 1986 Financial Services Act established the basis for semi-statutory regulation of the City. The 1986 Pensions Act extended the law into the management and trusteeship of pension funds, while the 1986 Companies Act first qualified the absolute sovereign rights of shareholders. In the event of a liquidation, shareholders no longer have an exclusive

claim to any residual assets. Directors, says the Act, have instead a legal duty to strike a balance between workers' interests and any others who have a reasonable claim. Here is a first tentative expression of stakeholding. The trade union movement has also been rethinking itself. In the 1970s the TUC castigated the idea of stakeholding and worker participation because if workers were treated as members of firms, then staff associations and the like would have the right to sit on company boards — undermining trade unions' claim to be the sole legitimate representatives of the workforce. Worse, unions would be made party to managerial decisions and thus inhibited in their capacity to negotiate high wages. If 25 years ago a general secretary of the TUC had come out in favour of stakeholding, as John Monks did last week, the movement would have regarded him as a class traitor. It is this movement of opin-

ion that helps to explain why the stakeholding idea has taken off in the manner it has. Most senior British businessmen and financiers know that the Conservative initiatives have been incomplete. There cannot be another Maxwell or failed trial. And megabids like that of Granada for Forte may enrich City institutions but their wider effect is baleful. The question is whether the necessary reforms will be introduced by a government that does not believe in what it is doing, or one that does. Take the basic constitution of the British firm. John Kay and Aubrey Silbertson argue in a recent article in the National Institute of Economic and Social Research's Quarterly Review that it is closely analogous to the former authoritarian regimes of eastern Europe. It is run by a self-perpetuating elite. Voting at annual meetings is fixed in a manner that outdoes a Brezhnev or Honecker. Secrecy in the management of

affairs is paramount. Accounts are not trustworthy. Hostile bids mirror military takeovers as a means of changing top personnel. The owners of the majority of most companies' shares, the pension funds and insurance companies, do not take their proprietorial responsibilities seriously. Fewer than 30 per cent of them vote. They want, above all, the right to receive growing dividends. They accept no reciprocal obligations. **T**HIS conspiracy of interest between management, anxious to retain their East European privileges, and institutional fund managers, jealous of their right to play with shares like so many chips at the casino, is at the heart of the malaise in British corporate life. The name of the game is to achieve high immediate financial returns, constraining investment and displacing risk on to workforces. Creativity, long-term

ism and trust are conspicuous by their absence. Stakeholding can advance partially through more effort in education and training, and partially through better bridges from welfare to work. But there have to be parallel initiatives in corporate governance. Kay and Silbertson recommend that directors' terms of office should be limited to four years, that they should be paid accordingly, and selected by independent non-executive directors. This, they say, will break the self-perpetuating oligarchy of most British firms. Managers will be more predisposed to act as trustees of the business than as the shareholders' agents. The effect will radiate through the firm. This could be negotiated initially as a voluntary code, but ultimately it would have to be backed by legislation. New Labour should not be frightened of putting some spine into its ideas — and following the path the Conservatives have blazed.

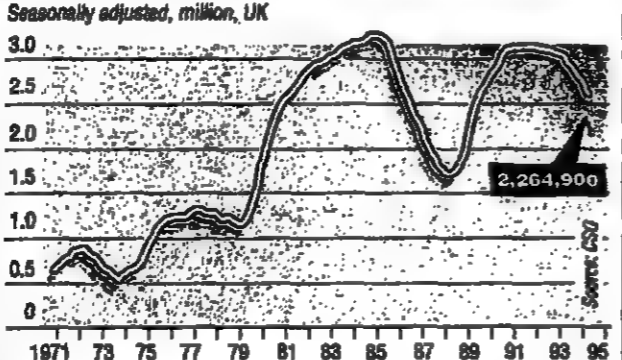
## Flexibility shows lack of subtlety Qwerty input is a key explanation

### Briefing

Larry Elliott

**A**LTHOUGH he would probably rather have been at Parc des Princes watching the rugby, Kenneth Clarke no doubt spent an enjoyable Saturday afternoon in Paris telling other members of the Group of Seven about the British answer to unemployment. The solution, as Government ministers never cease to tell us, is that labour markets need to be more flexible. Only if the rest of Europe gives up the panoply of restrictive measures that shield workers from international competition will they be able to match the UK's success in reducing the dole queues. For those who find this just a bit too glib, the past week has provided some interesting insights. First, there was the release of the latest unemployment figures on Wednesday, with the Central Statistical Office providing data both for the number of people out of work and claiming benefit (the claimant count) and on the internationally-agreed measure (looking for work). Let's take the claimant count first. The good news is that seasonally-adjusted unemployment is down by almost 750,000 since the peak reached in December 1992. The bad news is that at 2,237,000 the total is still more than double the 1,066,800 bequeathed to Mrs Thatcher in

### Twenty five years of the dole queues



May 1979. We can make these comparisons because the CSO publishes data on a consistent basis, thereby ironing out the manifold changes to the claimant count. This now stretches back for a full quarter of a century to January 1971, and shows that there is a bit of evidence, but not much, to suggest that flexible labour markets are working. The argument normally deployed by ministers is that the most recent peak in the claimant count of 2,978,500 was lower than the previous high of 3,122,000 reached in July 1982. What we tend to hear less of is that every trough in unemployment has been higher than the last — 425,000 in December 1978, 1,043,000 in November 1979 and 1,594,000 in April 1980. Now, let's turn to the Labour Force Survey, the quarterly probe of 60,000 households, which assesses unemployment by whether someone has been looking for work in the past

four weeks and is in a position to start a job. On unemployment, there is quite a divergence between the two figures. For Great Britain the LFS shows joblessness at 2,399,000, some 228,000 higher than the equivalent total for the claimant count. The obvious explanation for this disparity is that falling unemployment increases the number of people looking for work; they now believe there is a chance of finding a job. On employment, the LFS also has some interesting findings. Of the increase of 238,000 in employment over the past year, 183,000 came from part-time work. In the most recent quarter, the overall rise of 38,000 divided into a fall of 9,000 in full-time jobs and an increase of 9,000 in full-time employment. Those looking for an explanation for the lack of the "feel-good factor" should perhaps start here. A second counter to the "flexibility" school comes in

### Debate

Paul Ormerod

**T**HE announcement of job losses at Apple computers has led to a flurry of speculation about whether the market always knows best in the choice of new technologies. Apple is thought by many to be superior to Microsoft, yet it is losing out in the struggle for market share. The Betamax video recorder was a better product than its VHS rival, but was squeezed out of existence. According to conventional free market theory, such things cannot happen. So much the worse for the orthodox theory. An exciting intellectual development in economics which explains the apparently puzzling outcomes of the battles between new technology products is the theory of qwerty. Those words are, of course, the top row of the typewriter keyboard. The qwerty board was deliberately developed 120 years ago to be inefficient, because machines of the time could not cope with a faster input. Yet, because people are trained on this keyboard, it has not proved possible for more efficient ones to break the lock over the market of this inefficient design. It is the original and definitive example of how the free market can fall society in the choice of technology. In essence the model is simple. Two new technologies have been developed which

are about to compete with each other. For example, the market for video recorders in the 1980s. The population of potential adopters is assumed to be divided equally in its preferences between the two. The key assumption is that each of the technologies enjoys increasing returns with adoption. A technology which has already bought one product rather than its rival, the more likely that new buyers will choose it. For example, with video recorders, the lead in market share which VHS obtained encouraged retailers to stock tapes for these machines, which in turn gave an incentive for new purchasers to choose a VHS machine. The final assumption needed is that adopters come forward to buy the technologies in a random sequence. A mathematical theorem in such a model, provided that the impact of increasing returns is sufficiently strong, no matter how small the change in the probabilities following each individual adoption, one technology is certain to eventually gain 100 per cent market share. But it is not possible to predict in advance which one will succeed, for by construction the outcome is a matter of the random process of initial adoption. A technology which in an objective sense is inferior to its rival could therefore achieve "lock-in" under these processes. The assumption of increasing returns — positive feedback — means that the market does not auto-

matically "know best". The better product may win, but so could the inferior one. In short, the economics of qwerty provides a general model for market failure, for how market forces can lock the economy into an inefficient path from which it is difficult to escape. The source of such failure is not simply increasing returns or, to use the language of systems theory, positive feedback. The more people are trained to use the inefficient qwerty keyboard, the more difficult it becomes for an alternative to break into the market. The idea of increasing returns in any form is an anathema to free market theorists. In their world, firms are simply not allowed to gain advantages by being big, by being able to realise economies of scale in production, distribution, sourcing, marketing or whatever. Of course, the real world is replete with such examples. But, once this is permitted, the elegant mathematics which is used to "prove" the efficiency of the free market can no longer be applied. The theory of qwerty can be applied, for example, to the location of industry, to the pattern of real estate development and can also be extended into a general theory of social exclusion with far-reaching policy implications. The importance of institutions and of the specific history of a country in understanding events is given, for the first time, a powerful mathematical justification. Paul Ormerod is chairman of Post-Orthodox Economics

### Tourist rates

Australia 1.98	France 7.38	Italy 2.350	Singapore 2.11
Austria 15.10	Germany 2.175	Malta 0.5973	S Africa 5.35
Belgium 38.00	Greece 38.00	Netherlands 2.44	Spain 182.50
Canada 2.00	HKong 11.50	New Zealand 2.23	Sweden 10.08
Cyprus 0.955	India 54.80	Norway 9.56	Switzerland 1.74
Denmark 8.42	Ireland 0.86	Portugal 225.00	Turkey 88.31
Finland 6.72	Israel 4.74	Saudi Arabia 5.60	USA 1.48

### Indicators

**TODAY — UK:** GDP (Q4, Prelim); GERS Cost of Living (Jan); GERS M3 (Rel to Q4; Dec); FFR Consumer prices (Dec); YOMORROW — UK: Building Soc. New Commitments (Dec); UK: Provisional M4 (Dec); UK: CBI Industrial Trends Survey; US: Personal Income (Nov).

**US:** Personal Consumption (Nov); IR: Budget; **WEDNESDAY — UK:** Non-EU Trade (Dec); US: Industrial production (Dec); US: Capacity utilisation (Dec); FFR: Spending on Manufactures (Dec). Source: HSBC Markets Research.

## Thatcher sets the record straight

### Worm's eye

Dan Atkinson

**T**EN years ago, a chap called David Stockman published a book in which he demolished the idea that the American people had been lumbered with a costly welfare state and bureaucracy and were straining to be liberated. On the contrary, he said, the people and the free-spending politicians were hand in hand, indeed, they were sharing the same bed. This not very original idea was given weight by

the fact that Mr Stockman had the previous year resigned as budget director, a position in which he had striven since 1981 to dismantle the welfare system and bring to a grateful America the benefits of the "supply-side revolution". Frustrated, partly by his boss President Reagan (an amiable nitwit in Mr Stockman's book, but one who obviously had a sharper idea of what the public wanted than did his budget director), he threw in the towel and declared that Americans in general were not especially fond of free market capitalism, and it was time to accept the fact. One half of the market-

economy myth (that voters would embrace full-blooded capitalism with enthusiasm) was in ruins, but the other half (that, like it or not, the free market was not a "system" but the natural state of affairs that would be restored whenever governments stopped "distorting" the operations of the market) survived. It has taken a decade for the second shoe to drop, but drop it did on January 11, courtesy of Lady Thatcher. In all the huffing and puffing about her rant (sorry, "lecture"), no one seems to have noted the extraordinary statement that "the middle classes feel that they no longer have the in-

centives and opportunities they expect from a Conservative government." If that isn't the cat exiting the bag, what is? The market economy, it turns out, is no more "natural" than anything else; it is merely another system, whose survival requires state-sponsored "incentives". Its own special "distortions". Put another way, the free market is our own creation. For us to run scared of it is as barney as Charles Dickens lying low for fear that Mr Micawber is after him with an automatic rifle. It was good of our ex-prime minister to set the record straight, even at this late stage of the game.

## Clarke uses his political capital

### Commentary

Larry Elliott

**W**E WILL have to wait six weeks to find the official justification for last week's quarter-point reduction in base rates, but we already know or can guess the reasons behind the move. First, the state of the economy. Here, the Chancellor seems minded to take the advice of one of his wisest men, Carolyn Davies — rather than heed the warnings from another, Tim Congdon (and the Bank of England), about the recent pick up in the monetary

aggregates. Mr Davies notes that growth in nominal GDP slowed quite rapidly in 1995, from an annual rate of 5.8 per cent at the start of the year to an estimated 4.1 per cent by the final quarter. Since around 2.5 percentage points of that increase in nominal GDP is accounted for by price increases, the economy is expanding by only around 1.5 per cent — well below its long-term trend. Conclusion: reduce base rates to increase nominal demand. Second, Mr Clarke has plenty of evidence that macro-policy works. Higher taxes and the increase in base rates between September 1994 and February 1995 combined to slow down the economy. The

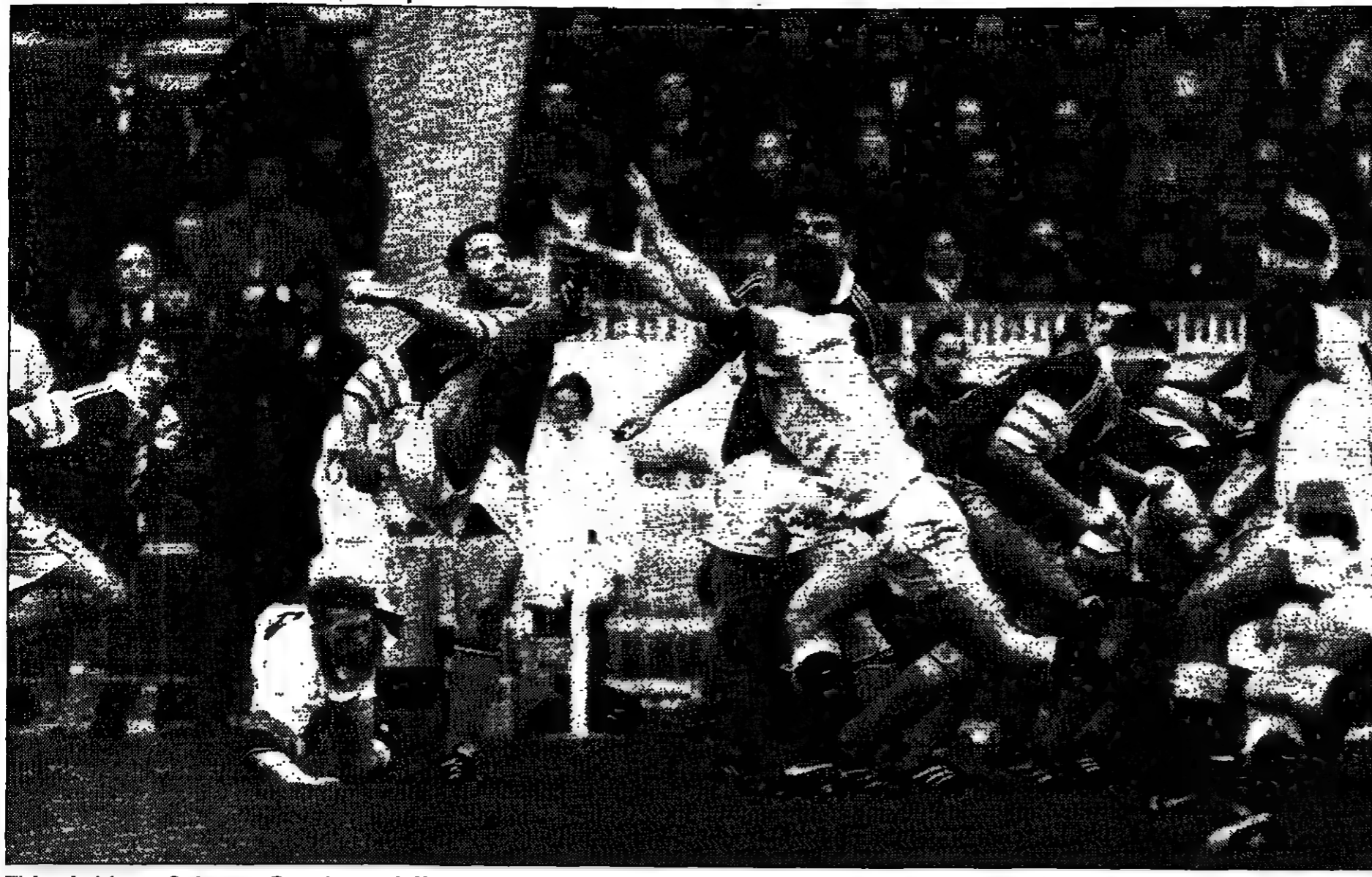
recent data for retail sales and the housing market show pretty unambiguously that a modest recovery began last autumn, when building societies cut mortgage rates. The Chancellor would like this to continue. Third, there were tactical reasons. Had the Chancellor waited for another three weeks until the next monetary meeting, who knows what the market conditions would have been. For example, some strong economic data or a run on the pound might have prevented Mr Clarke from moving, so he took advantage of his window of opportunity. Last, but definitely not least, there was the political

imperative. Emma Nicholson, the shackling of pregnant women prisoners, and a particularly chilling Gallup poll meant that the Chancellor needed to do something to seize the agenda from Labour, particularly since some monetary easing was inherent in the tighter-than-expected fiscal stance in the Budget. After last year's victory over Eddie George, Mr Clarke still has enough political capital with the markets to get another half-point off rates without too much trouble. The inflation target might have to be sacrificed to deflate the economy, but the Chancellor won't mind that too much if the Conservatives start to close the poll gap on Labour.

without your



RUGBY UNION: FIVE NATIONS CHAMPIONSHIP



High and mighty... Carboneau, France's scrum-half, kicks for position to elude the clutches of the England flanker Dalglish in Paris on Saturday

France 15, England 12

Rowell must step aside for man of vision

Robert Armstrong at Parc des Princes

ENGLAND desperately need to inject fresh blood into their moribund management... The Rugby Football Union should grasp the nettle, appoint a new chief coach and switch Jack Rowell to the post of general manager...

over England in eight years without getting into top gear... If Rowell ever entertained the notion of steering England towards a flexible 15-man game, that plan was jettisoned in favour of a low-risk policy of containment that proved self-defeating because it gave France too much territory to work in...

seems uncertain about his strategic aims and that confusion has been transmitted to the players... The game of chess between the goalkeepers Grayson and Thierry Lacroix also helped to keep the French backs safely under wraps...

Nevertheless England might well have finished the first half two scores in front... Underwood gave for broke 13 metres from the French line instead of passing to Catt, who failed to hold a poor pass...

tags was translated into two more penalty goals and a drop goal by Lacroix... Grayson, who added two marvellous drop goals to his first-half penalties, produced some subtle touches in a display of ruthless pragmatism...

Underwood was unhappy with the decision... "I put my hand on the ball all right but the referee gave no try," he said. "I have seen dodgier efforts given."



Rowell... uncertain strategy

Scottish clubs threaten split

TEN of Scotland's leading clubs, frustrated at the Scottish Rugby Union's decision to promote its districts for next season's European Cup, are ready to split from the union... The rebel clubs have formed a public company, Scottish Professional Rugby Clubs Limited...

Ireland 10, Scotland 16

Kidd's play fades into another false dawn

DAY after Scotland's MPs voted not to put the clocks forward, Ireland's rugby supporters woke up to another false dawn... There was a palpable sense of gloom after this defeat that no amount of the black staff could wash away...

made it seem a reasonable decision. But, despite being cramped in the Scottish half for almost the entire final quarter, the Irish were becalmed... "It was tackle, tackle, tackle. In the end we held on by the skin of our teeth," said Scotland's captain Rob Wainwright...

lapsed the scrum in those circumstances," said his fellow prop Peter Clowessy... It was one of those marginal decisions that decides championships but, in truth, the Irish were second-best. They have a month off before a daunting trip to Paris and changes will surely be made in their scrum...

breaks, and capped his display with a clever first-half drop goal reminiscent of his strike against England two seasons ago... Townsend controlled the game superbly," said Kidd, whose own fly-half Eric Elwood had a miserable afternoon...

north and south terraces may be relieved that the Irish Rugby Football Union is seriously considering a scheme to share a new ground with the Republic's soccer team in the Dublin suburb at the old Phoenix Park racecourse... On this pitch, though, they had few moves that were right...

Rugby League

Wire appoint Murphy and Dorahy

THE odd couple Alex Murphy and John Dorahy are the management team Warrington have chosen to lead them into the Super League... Murphy, who has been out of the game for almost two years, will be the club's new football executive with the Australian Dorahy, who spent a season at Wigan, replacing Brian Johnson as head coach...

Clive Griffiths, who has been in temporary charge since Johnson's resignation following the club's 80-0 defeat in the Regal Trophy against St Helens this month... Griffiths, Wales's national coach, will consider his future. Warrington want him to stay but, after seven years as an assistant to Johnson, Griffiths was ready to take full control...

There was markedly less enthusiasm for Dorahy's appointment - which, still, along with Murphy's, has to be confirmed... The 41-year-old Dorahy was an excellent stand-off with Hull Kingston Rovers in the Eighties but his two coaching stints, at Halifax and Wigan, have failed to convince the fans...

fourth win in eight days, showed that they will still be the team to catch when Super League starts in March and that Henry Paul will be one of the great entertainers of the new era... The young stand-off scored 22 of Wigan's points with two tries and seven goals as his fellow Kiwi Craig Innes collected a hat-trick of tries for Leeds...

There was no doubting that who was rugby league's most disappointed man when the game as people have known it for 100 years passed into history... Paul Fitzpatrick... Wigan's Martin Offiah was desperate to finish as top try-scorer for an unprecedented sixth time, and a touchdown in Wigan's 34-20 win over Leeds took his total to 28 yesterday...

Four-try Plange gallops through for a dead-heat with Offiah... Wigan, completing their fourth try in eight days, showed that they will still be the team to catch when Super League starts in March and that Henry Paul will be one of the great entertainers of the new era...

Leap in dark fails to shed much light on the future

Richard Williams on a confusing afternoon for England followers

IT WAS a confusing sort of day. "We realised at half-time that if we wanted to beat the English," Jean-Claude Skrela said after the match at Parc des Princes on Saturday... "We'd have to play the English way." His opposite number, searching for a phrase that would sum up his own strategic decisions, also found it necessary to resort to his opponents' idiom: "Reculer pour mieux sauter..."

On the other hand, how many caps will Mike Catt need to add to the dozen already in his possession before he starts fulfilling the basic functions of the position in which he is picked... "This is an interesting train of thought, suggesting a degree of psychological complexity not generally associated with the preparation of rugby teams. How very different from the attitude of those coaches who like to tell you it is a simple game..."

Boxing Docherty fails but with pride

DREW DOCHERTY tried nobly to win the mid bantamweight title for the late James Murray on Saturday night but finished with a swollen left cheek and a cut left eyebrow as the Puerto Rican Daniel Jimenez kept his WBO title by points margins of 118-112, 115-112 (studiously wide) and 115-114...

Sport in brief

Anita Wachter of Austria took the overall lead in the women's World Cup with a giant slalom win in Cortina D'Ampezzo, Italy... Sailing A second place in the final, light-air, race clinched overall victory for Graham Walker, in Indulgance, and the Corum Sailing Team in the One-Design 48 class in Mount Gay Yachting Key West Race Week... Chess Michael Adams, the British No. 2 slumped to last place in the Hoogovens tournament in the Netherlands, losing his third game in four rounds... Sports Politics Peter Lawson, former general secretary of the Central Council of Physical Recreation, has brought an industrial tribunal claim for compensation for unfair dismissal... Ice Skating Britain's Nick Gooch regained his European short-track speed skating title in Oberstorf, Germany, at the weekend but must share it with Italy's Michele Antonoli, with whom he finished joint first.

Vertical advertisement on the right edge of the page, including the text 'Muste out for a rise' and 'Danol ust cl'.

Tennis
Muster out for a rise

David Irvine in Melbourne

BY AN odd quirk of the men's ranking system, radically changed by a decision to double the points at Grand Slam tournaments this year, Thomas Muster, who lost here in the fourth round of the Australian Open yesterday to the Swede, Mikael Tillstrom, will become world No. 1 if Andre Agassi is beaten by Jim Courier in tomorrow's quarters.

"I don't win here, I don't want to be No. 1," said Agassi, after recovering from two sets to one down to beat another troublesome Swede, Jonas Bjorkman, by 4-6, 6-2, 4-6, 6-1, 6-2. But anyone with the game's credibility at heart must hope he does win, otherwise the top man will be a player never to have won a match at Wimbledon.

Muster, whose next engagement - a Davis Cup tie with South Africa - is on grass, inferred he had not even considered ranking implications. "Whatever the computer prints out is the No. 1. There's nobody who's been at No. 1 that doesn't deserve it. It is not as if you can buy your points in a supermarket."

While Muster's performance was hardly that of a man purporting to be at the pinnacle of his profession, it had to be considered in context. In the same 24-hour period the deposed incumbent, Pete Sampras, lost in straight sets to Mark Philippoussis, and Goran Ivanisevic, the Grand Slam cup champion, to the Italian Renzo Furlan.

Courier, like Agassi, was stretched to a fifth set by Marcos Ondruska, leaving only Michael Chang as the only quarter-finalist to get there in comfort. Chang has dropped just 31 games in a seven hours 12 minute match.

Prospects appear increasingly rosy for Chang, who ought to see off the talented but 108th-ranked Tillstrom. On paper he has had a cakewalk so far, beating a succession of modest opponents; yesterday's a qualifier in Jean-Philippe Fleurian.

Even so he may have to raise his game to counter Tillstrom, whose unusually high-risk style - he made 53 winners and 50 unforced errors - is refreshing. He taunted



Blowing hot... Michael Chang breezed past Jean-Philippe Fleurian for a place in the last eight

Muster with drop shots and by varying the pace and length of his strokes, denied the Austrian the chance to impose himself.

It was a match regularly punctuated by service breaks. Tillstrom was always the more inventive, however, and seemed to be equipped to bounce back from every setback. "He played very well," conceded a tired and disappointed Muster, after losing 5-7, 6-4, 3-6, 2-6.

"I've always taken chances but I'm still in there, so I have to give myself a chance," said Agassi, the defending champion, who has lost to Courier on six successive occasions since meeting him in Paris in 1990. But Courier is not at his best, either, and struggled to get on Ondruska 7-5, 2-6, 4-6, 6-4, 6-2.

to the American's furiously-struck groundstrokes. "I wouldn't say I'm at my peak but I'm still in there, so I have to give myself a chance," said Agassi, the defending champion, who has lost to Courier on six successive occasions since meeting him in Paris in 1990.

But Courier is not at his best, either, and struggled to get on Ondruska 7-5, 2-6, 4-6, 6-4, 6-2.

Rubin, who is 19 and a lot smarter than most of her American contemporaries, now stands between Sanchez-Vicario and a semi-final, where a confrontation with Seles would be likely. Rubin beat the No. 3 seed on a hard court at Los Angeles in the second round, again on clay at the Fed Cup final in November and is convinced she can do so again.

Rubin's career took off at Paris last May when she beat Jana Novotna from 5-3, 0-40 in the third set of their third-round match. "Things have just got better and better since then," she says. Yesterday she added Gabriela Sabatini to her list of distinguished victims.

Sabatini's decline also goes back to Paris and a defeat from 6-1, 6-1 ahead in 1993 by Mary Joe Fernandez. Since then, though the Argentinean still talks a

good match, she has won only two titles. Yesterday she was outclassed 6-2, 6-4, contributing to her own downfall with 11 double faults.

Kajoli, despite a rib injury, crushed Sabine Appelmans 6-2, 6-2. The 18-year-old Yugoslav now plays the former Yugoslav Seles, whose 6-3, 6-5 dismissal of Japan's Naoko Sawamatsu was her 29th successive victory in Australia.

So far, the women's matches have done little to aid their case for equality in prize-money terms with the men. Of the last 80 matches completed, only two have gone to a third set.

Last year's champion Mary Pierce, who lost to Elena Likhovtseva in the second round, announced she had broken with her coach Nick Bollettieri, who accused her of lacking commitment.

"No matter who works with Mary, she has got to work for herself and make the sort of commitment she has never made before," said Bollettieri. He is now to devote himself to Mark Philippoussis, who beat Pete Sampras on Saturday.

"He has renewed my enthusiasm for the game."

Britain had five good second-half chances to put the match beyond Canada's reach before the equaliser, and another came. But the better side did not win.

They did in the day's other match. India produced a performance of high quality to defeat the Netherlands, the favourites, 4-1. Pillay, the former Gymkhana forward, scored two outrageous

goals. Gurkay, Shyamal, Manoj, Rishi Singh, Wajid, Farhan, Tahir, Mayur, Shiv, A. Thangaraj, Laxman, M. Thompson, S. Balraj, H. Ganes.

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Rubin ready for hat-trick

David Irvine sees two teenagers raising the women's game

THOUGH a welcome breeze of change is beginning to waft through the women's game - yesterday two teenagers, Chanda Rubin and Iva Majoli, reached the last eight at the Australian Open - there is still a feeling that in Steffi Graf's absence Monica Seles's name is already etched on the trophy.

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Hockey
Britain 1, Canada 1
Britain drawn

Pat Rowley in Barcelona

A GOAL after 15 seconds by Rob Thompson was the perfect start for Britain against Canada yesterday in their second match at the Olympic qualifying tournament here. But once again, as in the 3-3 draw with India, they frittered away a strong position.

Canada never looked likely to score; that was until the 63rd minute, when they were awarded a long corner. The ball was allowed to reach Gifford at the near post and his deflection somehow beat Mason in the British goal.

It was the softest of goals and the British coach David Whitaker said afterwards that he was unhappy with three of the four goals Britain have conceded here.

Rain fell as the game began and immediately Mayer - all arms and legs - scampered down the right wing, centred and Rob Thompson swept the ball into goal.

For the next 10 minutes it was all too easy and Leslett, Nick Thompson and Mayer all had scoring chances. But errors crept in and Canada began to take a larger share of the game, though they were rarely able to get past the last defence line.

Canada tested Mason only twice in field play and hardly at all from four corners.

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Racing
Danoli looks just champion

Graham Rock

DANOLI, running for the first time in nine months, made a tremendous comeback at Leopardstown yesterday, finishing a close third to Collier Bay and Hotel Minella in the AIG Europe Champion Hurdle.

Having fractured his off-fore leg when winning the Marcel Amey Hurdle last April, Danoli was thought to be significantly short of peak fitness. Under a considerable ride he was beaten a head and half a length and was closing on the first two in the final 100 yards.

Bookmakers were of the firm opinion that Danoli will improve to leave yesterday's rivals behind at Cheltenham in March, and the Tote's 9/2 is now the 'top price' offered about Tom Foley's gelding.

Collier Bay is 14-1 with Hill's and 8-1 elsewhere, while Hotel Minella is 14-1 with the same firm against 10-1 with the Tote, who offer the most generous odds at Monteludo, 12-1.

Certainly yesterday's Leopardstown race will have more bearing on events at Cheltenham and Coral's for the Champion Hurdle Trial on Saturday, in which Myssic made all the running to beat Atours and Pridwell.

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Warwick with form

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1996 NATIONAL HUNT FESTIVAL

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WARWICK 101 201 301

Soccer

Premiership: Arsenal 1, Everton 2

Gunners in urgent need of running repairs

Commentary

David Lacey

GIANLUIGI LENTINI for Arsenal? The idea must have seemed attractive as Highbury emptied on Saturday evening after seeing Bruce Rioch's weakened, drifting side lose for the third time in four Premiership fixtures and after having also gone out of the FA Cup to Sheffield United.

When he joined Milan from Torino for £12 million, a year later he nearly became the game's most expensive corpse after a road accident, and since then has struggled to establish himself in the Milan side.



Right-minded... Andrei Kanchelskis leads the Arsenal defence a merry dance on Saturday

When he tipped a shot at the start of the second half, Arsenal would have been chasing the game rather than in the lead. True, Southall was not exactly unemployed but apart from Wright and Clarke, a Cambridge graduate in the sense that he was born in the university city and has come through the Highbury youth system, Arsenal were often second best in terms of blend and rhythm.

Liverpool 5, Leeds United 0 Leeds chorus spells worry for Wilkinson

IF LEEDS UNITED hold their nerve, draw strength from adversity and learn from painful experiences, they could still be playing their football in the Premiership next season.

ported chant of "Wilko for England" caught the wind and swirled around Anfield. Terry Venables was in attendance, but it was not he who was publicly addressing the FA's current predicament rather several thousand Yorkshiremen.

Blackburn Rovers 3, Sheffield Wednesday 0

Shearer keeps Harford on boil for Europe

Jeremy Alexander

ROUTINE home win lifted Blackburn to fifth on Saturday. "There is no use crying over spilt milk; we have to keep up a full head of steam and try to sustain a challenge for Europe."

made fools of by the pastry-cooks of Silkeborg IF or the plumbers of Potsdam — than never to leave home at all.

make it easy for Shearer. The second goal was all Norway; a surge and surgical pass by Berg, a run and slight of foot by Bohinen.

interesting. The manager, ever questing and rethinking, talked last week of "old players who know how to look after the ball".

blind him and old sharpness returning, might have scored twice in the opening minutes.

Celtic too close for comfort

Patrick Glenn

The suggestion by a newspaper columnist yesterday that Walter Smith is "rather enjoying" Celtic's menacing revival at the top of the Premier Division betrays a puzzling ignorance.

Chelsea 1, Nottingham Forest 0

Chelsea lack fiery finish

Russell Thomas

CHELSEA basked in the afterglow of the most uplifting week of their season but for all the praise heaped upon Glenn Hoddle's attractive evolving system, danger lurks within.

counter-attacking potential were mitigating factors. Yet the insurance offered by John Spencer's goal early in the second half threatened to be removed by Chelsea's tendency to stand and admire their handsome handiwork.

Hoddle was happier to discuss the merits of another Manchester, Petrusic, whose creative contribution outshone Gullit's and any Forest midfielder's. His rapid integration, with Phelan's arrival on the left, has given new point to Hoddle's planning.

Manchester City 1, Coventry City 1

Dublin warms Atkinson's heart in a freezing tale of two Cities

Mark Redding

THE feeble factor for Ron Atkinson this season has mostly been confined to the cream he uses to regulate his sustenance.

plays almost single-handedly kept them up last season when he scored 15 Premiership goals, but managed just four this campaign.

Robson and Robson could come to England's rescue

BRYAN ROBSON has confirmed he does not want the England job — this time round. But he has recommended the former manager Bobby Robson for the post, writes Martin Thorpe.

managerial career to go with the England job at the moment. Though, in the future you never know.

Wilkins in scramble for Africa

RAY WILKINS is to study a video of African teams this week as he attempts to arrest Queens Park Rangers' Premiership slide.

Africa Cup matches I'll be watching this week for promising players."

Wolves gained their first victory under new management with a 2-1 defeat of Tranmere. Later Mark McGhee was given the go-ahead to sign the £1 million-plus Everton mid-fielder Vinny Samways.

Goalkeeping remains a problem for City who have managed only eight at Maine Road in the league. Rösler, whose gutsy dis-

150 من الال

Soccer

Premiership: Newcastle United 2, Bolton Wanderers 1

Centurion Beardsley is poetry in motion

David Hopps
NEWCASTLE United displayed an extravagance near goal that would have shamed the Duchess of York...

When Ginola was refused a penalty for Lee's clumsy challenge, it looked like poetic justice...

Newcastle's luminary was Beardsley, whose chip set up the first goal for Kinnear...

Newcastle now have a fortnight to rest their limbs, reflect upon a 12-point run...

Disappointingly, none of the seven stanzas addresses Ginola's alleged tendency towards diving...

Bolton are seven points adrift from safety but if they maintain these standards they are not without hope...

First Division: Leicester City 0, Sunderland 0

Sunderland again fail to make their day pay

ON A day as cold and grey as a marble headstone neither team was capable of lifting the pace above the funeral...

been in touch with Liverpool and I should be very surprised if they were willing to release Ian while they are challenging in both the league and the Cup...

The best chances fell to Sunderland, however, in the 58th minute...

Weekend results

Soccer

FA CUP

Table of FA Cup results including matches like Arsenal 1, Tottenham 1, Liverpool 2, etc.

END-OF-SEASON LEAGUE

First Division

Table of First Division league results including matches like Leicester 0, Sunderland 0, etc.

SCOTTISH LEAGUE

First Division

Table of Scottish League First Division results including matches like Rangers 3, Celtic 1, etc.



Down and out... Darren Gough offered a glimmer of hope amid the despair, bringing Fanie de Villiers to his knees first ball

England slip quietly away

Mike Selvey in Port Elizabeth

IT IS hard to imagine any cricket match that receives the full attention of the St George's Park Band...

There was nothing uncommon about the result, however. England lost, just as they have in every one of the games...

after it was embarrassingly professional. If any good has come from the last two matches, however, it has been the return to rhythm, confidence and form of Darren Gough...

English have gone out to 8-1, alongside Sri Lanka, with bookmakers William Hill for the World Cup. Australia are 3-1 favourites ahead of India, Pakistan and South Africa at 4-1, with West Indies 6-1.

Rugby League

STONES CENTENARY CHAMPIONSHIP

Table of Stones Centenary Championship results including matches like Wigan 12, Leeds 10, etc.

Rugby Union

FIVE NATIONS CHAMPIONSHIP

Table of Five Nations Championship results including matches like England 12, Ireland 10, etc.

Table Tennis

EUROPEAN CUP

Table of European Cup Table Tennis results including matches like England 3, France 2, etc.

Basketball

Leopards put on spot as Sharks make a splash

THE Leopards' challenge for the Budweiser League has faded, leaving only the strained outline of Billy Mims's smile...

Chess

HOOGMOED TOURNAMENT

Table of Hoogmoed Tournament chess results including matches like England 2, Scotland 1, etc.

and Robson could be England's rescue

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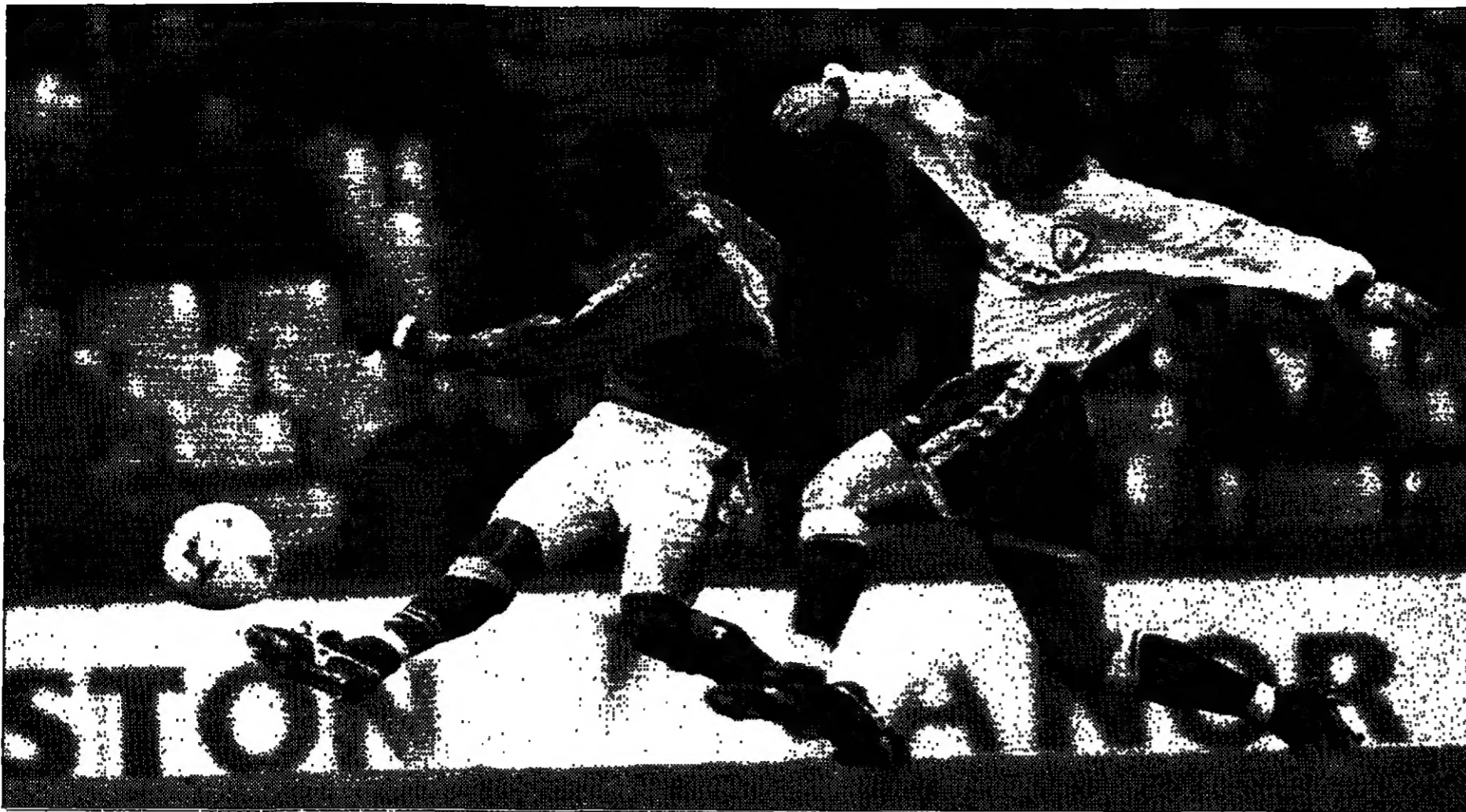
Vertical text on the left side of the page, likely a continuation of a story or a sidebar.

The return of Smart Alex, page 12
Agassi halts the rot, page 13

Rowell under fire, page 12
England go down again, page 15

SportsGuardian

BOOST FOR NEWCASTLE AS TOTTENHAM FAIL TO NARROW GAP



Mighty Dwight... Yorke slices his way past Caskey to hit Villa's winning goal and leave Spurs without a crumb of comfort from their trip to the Midlands PHOTOGRAPH: PAUL TONCE

Premiership: Aston Villa 2, Tottenham Hotspur 1

Spurs fall under Yorke spell

David Lacey
TOTTENHAM were Yorked at Villa Park yesterday as an attempt to go second in the Premiership ended instead with their second away league defeat of the season. While Aston Villa took much heart from the win, the result was equally satisfying for Newcastle, whose 12-point lead at the top will be preserved should Manchester United lose at West Ham this evening. At least there was a winner yesterday, although the general scrappiness of the football after an outstanding first half threatened a draw until Dwight Yorke struck for Villa 13 minutes from the end. If Yorke was the happiest player on the field at that point, Savo Milosevic must

have been the most relieved, having missed three chances before the interval. Football folk tend to scorn statistics but sometimes it is difficult to argue with history. Spurs still have not won at Villa Park since 1986 and they have not beaten Aston Villa anywhere since 1990. Villa, moreover, have lost only one of the 42 matches in which Yorke has now scored for them. The result apart, the most significant figures from yesterday's game were the 35 scoring attempts that the teams achieved between them. This match offered ample evidence to support the belief that, despite a tendency towards loose passing and sloppy defending, the Premiership offers more excitement than the majority of its counterparts. Not that the defending by either side at Villa Park was

often sub-standard, and before half-time the passing often achieved a surprisingly high quality considering the pace at which the ball was being moved around the field. In the end the adept employment of three centre-backs, which has made Villa as hard to beat as Spurs since the clocks were altered, more or less made sure that Villa would not lose before Yorke provided something better. Tottenham, while equally competent for much of the time, were regularly stretched at the back once Villa's attack had achieved its usual momentum. Yet had Armstrong, picked out at the far post by Rosen- that's deep cross from the left in the second minute, not headed wide the strength and pace of Tottenham's counter-attacks might have brought them more reward as Villa hungared for an equaliser.

In fact throughout the game Spurs were apt to produce the better centres, with Caskey their most regular provider, but most of the time Villa had McGrath or Elnogu well positioned to nod these away. Tottenham looked largely to Fox's speed on the right, augmented by Caskey's persistence, to get them into scoring situations. Villa had more options - pace on the flanks, certainly, but greater mobility through the middle as Yorke and Johnson wheeled and spun around Milosevic. The shot from Johnson that Walker deflected past a post announced Villa as an attacking presence, and an excellent save by the Tottenham goalkeeper as he turned a rising drive from Elnogu over the bar was quickly followed by a Villa goal in the 22nd minute. Campbell met a corner with a weak headed clearance

which fell to Yorke, whose attempt to score with an over-head kick rebounded off Nethercott. McGrath then drove the loose ball into the net, his first goal for Villa since scoring the winner against Nottingham Forest in April, 1993. Less than three minutes later Nethercott's header, from Caskey's corner, scuffed across to the far post where Wright scooped the ball out but only to Fox, whose shot took a deflection off McGrath's head to leave Bosnich stranded. It was the first time the Australian had been beaten in seven hours and one minute of football. Milosevic then proceeded to drive Villa Park to a familiar distraction. He cleared the bar of an empty net after Walker and Austin had collided going for a centre, shot over the top after gathering Johnson's through ball ahead of Calderwood, and then

failed to make contact with a free header. When the large Serb did find the target after 68 minutes, Walker again pushed the ball around a post. A mere point offered Villa Park as cold a comfort as the weather but Yorke was soon to warm a few West Midlands coddles. In the 78th minute he gathered the ball near Tottenham's penalty arc and looked to go left, but then swung sharply to his right, beating Edinburgh on the outside before cutting back to plant the ball unerringly into the far corner of the net. The first half, if not the second, deserved such a finish. Aston Villa: Bosnich, Shogou, McGrath, Southgate, Charles, Draper, Townsend, Wright, Johnson (Taylor, 78min), Yorke, Milosevic. Tottenham Hotspur: Walker, Austin, Calderwood, Nethercott, Edinburgh, Fox, Campbell, Caskey, Rosenwald, Armstrong, Sherrington. Referee: G. Poll (Tring)

World Cup reprieve for tour failures

Mike Selvey on an England line-up that defies a run of humiliating defeats
ENGLAND'S crushing 6-1 defeat in the one-day international series completed yesterday has not prevented them selecting a World Cup squad of 14 exclusively from players based in South Africa for the past two weeks. Mark Ramprakash, Mike Watkinson and Dermot Reeve have all been jettisoned and there is no place either for the five players flown home after the Test series or for alternatives such as Tim Munton and Nasser Hussain. Six of the side, including the captain, have no World Cup experience. Yet the selection is no real surprise, for Raymond Illingworth had been careful to bring to South Africa those players he felt likely to make the cup squad. Reeve played in two early one-day matches, Ramprakash three and Watkinson none; all missed the final three matches. Clearly the bulk of the squad was decided a while ago. Atherton has been given six front-line batsmen, a wicket-keeper, one all-rounder and six bowlers, including two spinners - combinations to cater for any conditions they might meet in Pakistan and India, but much will depend on regaining confidence, particularly when batting. Ramprakash and Hussain have their supporters, but the batsmen chosen are as good as any available. Hick is perhaps the best spinner in the conditions out in India and Pakistan. Another fortunate one in the squad is DeFreitas, who appears to have lost his nip.

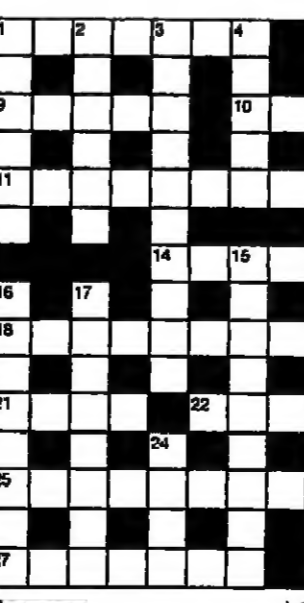
England's World Cup squad table with columns for batting, bowling, overs, runs, wickets, average, 100s, 50s, and 4s.

Graveney set to quit over Malcolm

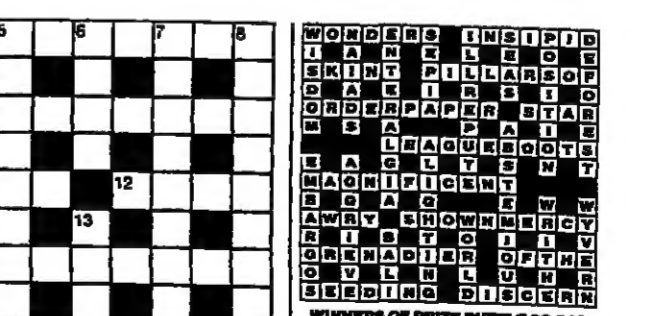
David Foot
DAVID GRAVENEY, the Professional Cricketers' Association secretary caught in the crossfire between the England team manager Raymond Illingworth and the maligned fast bowler Devon Malcolm, is ready to reconsider his position as a Test selector. A statement today from the PCA voices its concern at the "imbalance" of a situation which allows Illingworth to be as critical as he wishes about members of his team but forbids the players to go public in their own defence. Implicit in the statement is the counties' growing anger at Illingworth's one-sided tirades. Graveney said yesterday of the conflict in his loyalty while he remains nominally a Test selector: "It is most appropriate that I make it clear where I stand. My primary duty is to represent the players." At a meeting last week of the PCA at Lord's the members were left in no doubt about the volume of fury

directed by individual counties at Illingworth's insensitive approach. "I wasn't surprised at the reaction," said Graveney. "Essex, for instance, were very upset about comments made about Peter Sach. And one would have expected Derbyshire to defend Devon Malcolm as they did. We all know Ray's a very strong man, renowned for his blunt talking, but the PCA think he has gone too far." Malcolm was upset that the PCA did not give him more support at the time of his libel action against Wisden Cricket Monthly. Now he feels he is entitled to some solid backing from his players' trade union. Graveney said: "If I am not careful I will be put in an impossible position. I want to stand up to be counted as someone who represents the players." Tim Curtis, chairman of the PCA, said: "We have always accepted that there can't be a free-for-all, but it seems unfair that the players are not allowed to say anything when the people looking after them are."

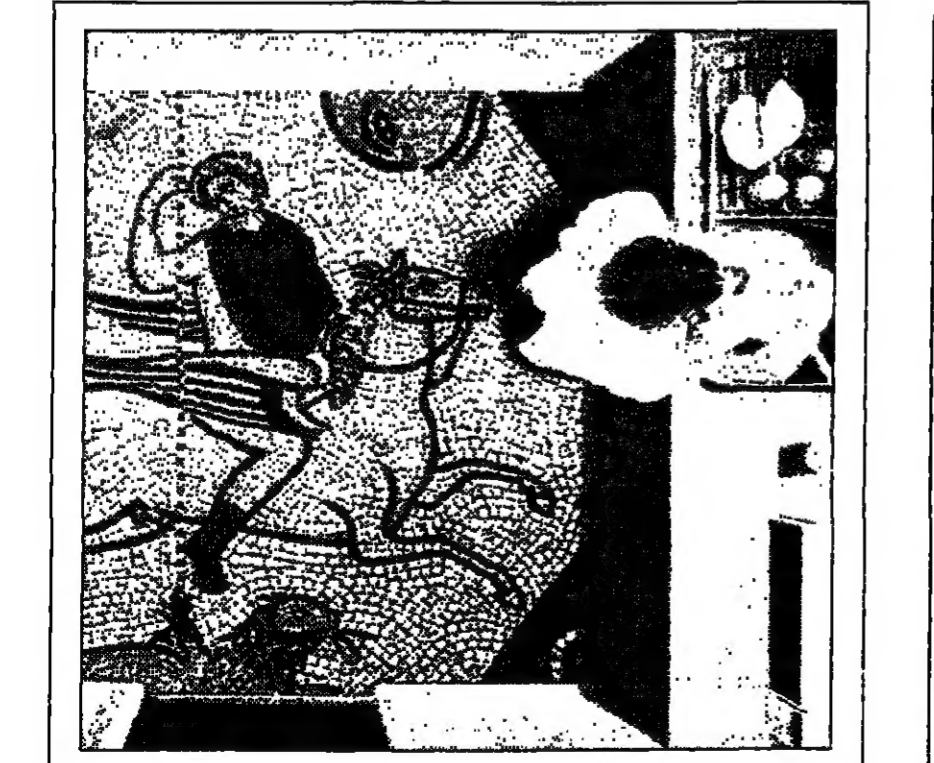
Guardian Crossword No 20,555



- Across: 1 Masters may arrange them in school (7); 5 Annus sale negotiated by traveller (7); 9 Lover of the city round (5); 10 Chief's essential nature it is said (9); 11 Vital expression of affection perhaps (4,2,4); 12 County of lowly state (4); 14 Proved by use to be skilful (11); 18 Down-to-earth essential for air-travellers (7,4); 21 Sailors who were exultant (4); 22 Ungracious behaviour of incompetent (21,3,7); 25 Most of shift attempt the subject (8); 26 She wants some of their energy (5).



- 15 Display for a long time in food-store (8); 16 Bird of ill-omen in court circles (8); 17 Advantage of personal influence (8); 19 Instrument that has to exist without care (6); 20 Sailors on ficlety seat behind (6); 23 Official alternative to time (5); 24 Fish-spear? (4). Solution tomorrow: Published by Guardian Newspapers Limited at 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER, and at 104 Deansgate, Manchester M2 2PR. Printed at the Guardian Press Centre, 2 Millharbour, London E14 6NS. Trafford Park Printers, Longbridge Road, Manchester M17 1SL. Tel: 0161-275 0000. Admittal-Rosenwald-Strasse 1, 6078 Neu-Isenburg/Zepplenhafen, Germany. Nord Star, 1521 rue de Calix, BP88-59052 Roubaix, France. Monday on behalf of the Guardian and the Evening News PLC, 45, 45E, Monday January 22, 1996 Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office (251-307) London: Telephone 0171-275 2222. Fax: 0171-275 2114. Edinburgh: Telephone 0171-275 2114. Fax: 0171-275 2114. Telephone sales 0171-611 9000. Manchester: Tel 0161-432 7200. Fax 0161-532 5351/534 9717. Tel sales 0161-434 8888.



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